

THE *godd.*
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Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,
DEAN of ST. PATRICK's, DUBLIN.

VOLUME VIII. PART I.

COLLECTED AND REVISED
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of GOODRICH, in HEREFORDSHIRE.

Hæ tibi erunt artes.

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ERRATA.

Page 170, line 14, for *Whitchet*, read *Whitshed*.

171, line 15, for ditto read ditto.

Ibid. line 20, for ditto read ditto.

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THE
E D I T O R S
TO THE
R E A D E R.

IT may appear somewhat strange to the world, and especially to men of taste and learning, that so many poetical, historical, and other miscellaneous productions of Dr. SWIFT, should have lain dormant such a number of years, after the decease of an Author so universally admired in all nations of the globe, which have any share of politeness. However, not to be over and above particular on this occasion; were it of any consequence to relate by what extraordinary means these several Papers were rescued from the injuries of time and accidents; or, to insist upon some other circumstances, which at present, we rather chuse to pass over in silence; it would, perhaps, seem rather more astonishing, that ever indeed they should have had the good fortune to make their appearance at all. It may suffice to observe, That in order to gratify the curiosity of the Public, we shall ascertain these Writings to be genuine; although to every man of taste and judgment they carry their own marks of authenticity. And therefore, as all the original Manuscripts, not to mention two or three Poems taken from the public prints, are in the Doctor's own hand; or, transcribed by his Amanuensis, have the sanction of his indorsement; some few copies, for which indeed we have the honour to be obliged to our friends, only excepted; we shall deposite them in the British Museum, provided the Governors will please to receive them into their collection.

LONDON,
March 18, 1765.

MEMOIRS

THE
DECLARATION

OF THE
INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, in such a case, would dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, we have recourse to the most solemn considerations, whereto we are naturally led by the dictates of the Reason and of the most sacred of all Laws, the Law of Nature and of Nature's God.

We therefore the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, do hereby declare that these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connections between them and the Kingdom of Great Britain are hereby totally dissolved.

M E M O I R S,

RELATING TO

That Change which happened in the QUEEN'S MINISTRY
in the Year 1710.

Written in OCTOBER, MDCCXIV.

HAVING continued, for near the space of four years, in a good degree of confidence with the ministry then in being, although not with so much power as was believed, or at least given out, by my friends as well as by my enemies, especially the latter, in both houses of parliament: And this having happened during a very busy period of negotiations abroad, and management or intrigue at home, I thought it might probably, some years hence, when the present scene shall have given place to many new ones that will arise, be an entertainment to those who will have any personal regard for me or my memory, to set down some particularities which fell under my knowledge and observation, while I was supposed, whether truly or no, to have part in the secret of affairs.

One circumstance I am a little sorry for, that I was too negligent (against what I had always resolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints or journals of every thing material as it passed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now recollect, although I was convinced, by a thousand instances, of the weakness of my memory. But, to say the truth, the nearer

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knowledge

knowledge any man has in the affairs at Court, the less he thinks them of consequence, or worth regarding. And those kind of passages, which I have with curiosity found or searched for in Memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to me from the first hand, or were such wherein I acted myself. This I take to be one among other reasons why great ministers seldom give themselves the trouble of recording the important parts of that administration, where they themselves are at the head. They have extinguished all that vanity which usually possesses men during their first acquaintance at courts; and, like the masters of a puppet-show, they despise those motions which fill common spectators with wonder and delight.

However, upon frequently recollecting the course of affairs during the time I was either trusted or employed; I am deceived, if in history there can be found any period more full of passages, which the curious of another age would be glad to know the secret springs of; or, from whence more useful instructions may be gathered for directing the conduct of those, who shall hereafter have the good or ill fortune to be engaged in business of the state.

It may probably enough happen, that those who shall at any time hereafter peruse these papers, may think it not suitable to the nature of them, that, upon occasion, I sometimes make mention of myself; who, during these transactions, and ever since, was a person without titles or public employment. But, since the chief leaders of the faction then out of power, were pleased in both houses of parliament to take every opportunity of shewing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the secret of all affairs, and without whose advice or privity, nothing was done, or employment disposed of, it will not, perhaps, be improper to take notice of some passages, wherein the public and myself were jointly concerned; not to mention that the chief cause of giving myself this trouble, is to satisfy my particular friends; and, at worst, if, after the fate of manuscripts, these papers shall, by accident

accident or indiscretion, fall into the public view, they will be no more liable to censure than other memoirs, published for many years past, in English, French, and Italian. The period of time I design to treat on, will commence with September 1710, from which time, till within two months of the Queen's death, I was never absent from court, except about six weeks in Ireland.

But, because the great change of employments in her Majesty's family, as well as in the kingdom, was begun some months before, and had been thought on from the time of Dr. Sacheverel's trial, while I was absent, and lived retired in Ireland; I shall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, some particulars I learned from the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, the Lady Masham, and Doctor Atterbury, who were best able to inform me.

I have often with great earnestness pressed the Earl of Oxford, then Lord Treasurer, and my Lady Masham, who were the sole persons which brought about that great change, to give me a particular account of every circumstance and passage during that whole transaction: Nor did this request proceed from curiosity, or the ambition of knowing and publishing important secrets; but, from a sincere honest design of justifying the Queen, in the measures she then took, and after pursued, against a load of scandal which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with some appearance of truth. It was easy to foresee, even at that distance, that the Queen could not live many years; and it was sufficiently known, what party was most in the good graces of the successor; and, consequently, what turns would be given by historians to her Majesty's proceedings, under a reign, where direct contrary measures would probably be taken. For instance, what would be more easy to a malicious pen than to charge the Queen with inconstancy, weakness, and ingratitude, in removing and disgracing the Duke of Marlborough, who had so many years commanded her armies with victory and success; in displacing so many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whose counsels she

had in all appearance so prosperously governed; in extending the marks of her severity and displeasure towards the wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that person she had so long employed and so highly trusted; and all this by the private intrigues of a woman of her bed-chamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be supposed to have acted that bold part only from a motive of revenge upon the loss of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power?

These were some of the arguments I often made use of with great freedom, both to the Earl of Oxford and my Lady Masham, to incite them to furnish me with materials for a fair account of that great transaction, to which they always seemed as well disposed as myself. My Lady Masham did likewise assure me, that she had frequently informed the Queen of my request, which her Majesty thought very reasonable, and did appear upon all occasions as desirous of preserving reputation with posterity, as might justly become a great Prince to be.

But, that incurable disease, either of negligence or procrastination, which influenced every action both of the Queen and the Earl of Oxford, did in some sort infect every one who had credit or business in court: For, after soliciting near four years, to obtain a point of so great importance to the Queen and her servants, from whence I could propose nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myself, it was perpetually put off.

The scheme I offered was to write her Majesty's reign; and, that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the historiographer's place, although of inconsiderable value, and of which I might be sure to be deprived upon the Queen's death.

This negligence in the Queen, the Earl of Oxford, and my Lady Masham, is the cause that I can give but an imperfect account of the first springs of that great change at court, after the trial of Doctor Sacheverel, my memory not serving me to retain all the facts related to me; but what I remember I shall here set down.

There was not, perhaps, in all England, a person who understood more artificially to disguise her passions than the late Queen. Upon her first coming to the throne, the Duchess of Marlborough had lost all favour with her, as her Majesty hath often acknowledged to those who have told it me. That Lady had long preserved an ascendant over her Mistress, while she was Princess, which her Majesty, when she came to the crown, had neither patience to bear, nor spirit to subdue. This Princess was so exact an observer of forms, that she seemed to have made it her study, and would often descend so low, as to observe, in her domesticks of either sex, who came in her presence, whether a ruffle, a periwig, or the lining of a coat, were unfuitable at certain times. The Duchess, on the other side, who had been used to great familiarities, could not take it into her head, that any change of station should put her upon changing her behaviour, the continuance of which was the more offensive to her Majesty, whose other servants, of the greatest quality, did then treat her with the utmost respect.

The Earl of Godolphin held in favour about three years longer, and then declined, although he kept his office till the general change. I have heard several reasons given for her Majesty's early disgust against that Lord. The Duchess, who had long been his friend, often prevailed on him to solicit the Queen upon things very unacceptable to her, which her Majesty liked the worse, as knowing from whence they originally came; and his Lordship, although he endeavoured to be as respectful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occasions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

To the Duke of Marlborough she was wholly indifferent (as her nature in general prompted her to be), until his restless, impatient behaviour had turned her against him.

The Queen had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time; and further than a bare good or ill opinion, which she soon contracted and changed, and very often upon light grounds, she could hardly be said either to love or to
hate

hate any body. She grew so jealous upon the change of her servants, that often out of fear of being imposed upon, by an over-caution, she would impose upon herself; she took a delight in refusing those who were thought to have greatest power with her, even in the most reasonable things, and such as were necessary for her service; nor would let them be done till she fell into the humour of it herself.

Upon the grounds I have already related, her Majesty had gradually conceived a most rooted aversion from the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin; which spread, in time, through all their allies and relations, particularly to the Earl of Hertford, whose ungovernable temper had made him fail in his personal respects to her Majesty.

This I take to have been the principal ground of the Queen's resolutions to make a change of some officers both in her family and kingdom; and that these resolutions did not proceed from any real apprehension she had of danger to the church or monarchy. For, although she had been strictly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and discipline, yet she was not so ready to foresee any attempts against it by the party then presiding. But, the fears that most influenced her, were such as concerned her own power and prerogative, which those nearest about her were making daily encroachments upon, by their undutiful behaviour and unreasonable demands.

The deportment of the Duchess of Marlborough, while the Prince lay expiring, was of such a nature, that the Queen, then in the heights of grief, was not able to bear it; but, with marks of displeasure in her countenance, she ordered the Duchess to withdraw, and send Mrs. Masham to her.

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before Prince George's death. This Prince had long conceived an incurable aversion from that party, and was resolved to use his utmost credit with the Queen, his wife, to get rid of them. There fell out an incident which seemed to favour this attempt; for the Queen, resolving to bestow a
1 regiment

regiment upon Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, signified her pleasure to the Duke of Marlborough; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refused his consent, and retired in anger to the country. After some heats, the regiment was given to a third person: But the Queen resented this matter so highly, which she thought had been promoted by the Earl of Godolphin, that she resolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr. St. John carried a letter from her Majesty to the Duke of Marlborough, signifying her resolutions to take the staff from the Earl of Godolphin, and that she expected his Grace's compliance; to which the Duke returned a very humble answer. I cannot engage for this passage, it having never come into my head to ask Mr. St. John about it: But, the account Mr. Harley and he gave me, was, That the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin had concerted with them upon a moderating scheme, wherein some of both parties should be employed, but with a more favourable aspect towards the church: That a meeting was appointed for compleating this work: That, in the mean-time, the Duke and Dukes of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, were secretly using their utmost efforts with the Queen to turn Mr. Harley, (who was then Secretary of State) and all his friends, out of their employments: That the Queen, on the other side, who had a great opinion of Mr. Harley's integrity and abilities, would not consent, and was determined to remove the Earl of Godolphin. This was not above a month before the season of the year when the Duke of Marlborough was to embark for Flanders; and, the very night in which Mr. Harley and his friends had appointed to meet his Grace and the Earl of Godolphin, George Churchill the Duke's brother, who was in good credit with the Prince, told his Highness, that the Duke was firmly determined to lay down his command, if the Earl of Godolphin went out, or Mr. Harley and his friends suffered to continue in. The Prince, thus intimidated by Churchill, reported the matter to the Queen; and the time and service pressing, her Majesty was
unwillingly

unwillingly forced to yield. The two great Lords failed the appointment; and, the next morning, the Duke at his levee said aloud in a careless manner, to those who stood round him, That Mr. Harley was turned out.

Upon the Prince's death, November 1708, the two great Lords so often mentioned, who had been for some years united with the Low-church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promises, which his Highness had ever most strenuously opposed. The Lord Sommers was made president of the council, the Earl of Wharton Lieutenant of Ireland, and some others of the same stamp were put into considerable posts.

It should seem to me, that the Duke and Earl were not very willingly drawn to impart so much power to those of that party, who expected these removals for some years before, and were always put off upon pretence of the Prince's unwillingness to have them employed. And I remember, some months before his Highness's death, my Lord Sommers, who is a person of reserve enough, complained to me with great freedom of the ingratitude of the Duke and Earl, who, after the service he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat them with common civility. Neither shall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me, that the Union was of no other service to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil, which my Lord Godolphin had brought upon us, by persuading the Queen to pass *the Scotch act of security*. But, to return from this digression.

Upon the admission of these men into employments, the court soon ran into extremity of Low-church measures; and although, in the House of Commons, Mr. Harley, Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr. St. John, and some others, made great and bold stands in defence of the constitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time that the Duke of Marlborough, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the rash counsels of his wife the Duchess, made

made that bold attempt of desiring the Queen to give him a commission to be general for life. Her Majesty's answer was, That she would take time to consider it; and, in the meanwhile, the Duke advised with the Lord Cowper, then Chancellor, about the form in which the commission should be drawn. The Chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to dissuade the Duke from engaging in so dangerous an affair; and protested he would never put the great seal to such a commission.

But the Queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the Duke, and talked to a person whom she had then taken into confidence, as if she apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The Duke of Argyle, and one or two more Lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the Queen. This Duke was under great obligations to the Duke of Marlborough, who had placed him in a high station in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But, his unquiet and ambitious spirit, never easy while there was any one above him, made him, upon some trifling resentments, conceive an inveterate hatred against his general. When he was consulted what course should be taken upon the Duke of Marlborough's request to be general for life; and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refusal; I was told, he suddenly answered, That her Majesty need not be in pain; for, he would undertake, whenever she commanded, to seize the Duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away either dead or alive.

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr. Sacheverel, which arose from a foolish passionate pique of the Earl of Godolphin, whom this divine was supposed, in a sermon, to have reflected on under the name of *Volpone*, as my Lord Sommers, a few months after, confessed to me; and, at the same time, that he had earnestly, and in vain endeavoured, to dissuade the Earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on in the form and manner which every body

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knows, and therefore there need not be any thing said of it here.

Mr. Harley, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs. Masham, privately brought to the Queen, and, in some meetings, easily convinced her Majesty of the dispositions of her people, as they appeared in the course of that trial in favour of the church, and against the measures of those in her service. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr. Harley was able to procure this private access to the Queen, the Duchess of Marlborough, by her emissaries, watching all the avenues to the back-stairs, and upon all occasions discovering their jealousy of him; whereof he told me a passage, no otherways worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an insolent, jealous minister, who would wholly engross the power and favour of his Sovereign. Mr. Harley, upon his removal from the secretary's office, by the intrigues of the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of these two Lords near Kensington-gate. The Earl, in a high fit of jealousy, goes immediately to the Queen, reproaches her for privately seeing Mr. Harley, and was hardly so civil to be convinced with her Majesty's frequent protestations to the contrary.

These suspicions, I say, made it hard for her Majesty and Mr. Harley to have private interviews; neither had he made use of the opportunities he met with to open himself so much to her, as she seemed to expect, and desired; although Mrs. Masham, in right of her station in the bed-chamber, had taken all proper occasions of pursuing what Mr. Harley had begun. In this critical juncture, the Queen, hemmed in, and as it were imprisoned, by the Duchess of Marlborough and her creatures, was at a loss how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr. Harley, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary messenger; he read the superscription, and saw it was the Queen's writing; he sent for the messenger, who said, he knew not whence the letter came, but that it was delivered him by an

an under-gardener, I forget whether of Hampton-Court or Kensington. The letter mentioned the difficulties her Majesty was under, blaming him for not speaking with more freedom, and more particularly; and desiring his assistance. With this encouragement he went more frequently, although still as private as possible, to the back-stairs; and from that time began to have entire credit with the Queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown as well as to the church and monarchy itself, from the councils and actions of some of her servants: That she ought gradually to lessen the exorbitant power of the Duke and Dukes of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, by taking the disposition of employments into her own hands: That it did not become her to be a slave to a party; but to reward those who may deserve by their duty and loyalty, whether they were such as were called of the High-church or Low-church. In short, whatever views he had then in his own breast; or, how far soever he intended to proceed, the turn of his whole discourse was intended, in appearance, only to put the Queen upon what they called a moderating scheme; which however made so strong an impression upon her, that when this minister, led by the necessity of affairs, the general disposition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her Majesty upon going greater lengths than she had first intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and some insuperable; as we shall see in the progress of this change.

Her Majesty, pursuant to Mr. Harley's advice, resolved to dispose of the first great employment that fell, according to her own pleasure, without consulting any of her ministers. To put this in execution, an opportunity soon happened by the death of the Earl of Effex, whereby the lieutenancy of the Tower became vacant. It was agreed between the Queen and Mr. Harley, that the Earl Rivers should go immediately to the Duke of Marlborough, and desire his Grace's good offices with the Queen, to procure him that post. The Earl went accordingly, was received with abundance of professions of kindness by the Duke, who said the lieutenancy of the Tower

was not worth his Lordship's acceptance, and desired him to think of something else. The Earl still insisted, and the Duke still continued to put him off; at length Lord Rivers desired his Grace's consent to let him go himself and beg this favour of the Queen, and hoped he might tell her Majesty, his Grace had no objection to him. All this the Duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no consequence. The Earl went to the Queen, who immediately gave orders for his commission. He had not long left the Queen's presence, when the Duke of Marlborough, suspecting nothing that would happen, went to the Queen, told her the lieutenancy of the Tower falling void by the death of the Earl of Essex, he hoped her Majesty would bestow it upon the Duke of Northumberland, and give the Oxford-regiment, then commanded by that Duke, to the Earl of Hertford. The Queen said, he was come too late; that she had already granted the lieutenancy to Earl Rivers, who had told her that he [the Duke] had no objection to him. The Duke, much surprized at this new manner of treatment, and making complaints in her Majesty's presence, was however forced to submit.

The Queen went on by slow degrees. Not to mention some changes of lesser moment, the Duke of Kent was forced to compound for his chamberlain's staff, which was given to the Duke of Shrewsbury, while the Earl of Godolphin was out of town, I think at Newmarket: His Lordship, on the first news, came immediately up to court; but the thing was done, and he made as good a countenance to the Duke of Shrewsbury as he was capable of. The circumstances of the Earl of Sunderland's removal, and the reasons alledged, are known enough. His ungovernable temper had overswayed him to fail in his respects to her Majesty's person.

Mean-time both parties stood at gaze, not knowing to what these steps would lead, or where they would end. The Earl of Wharton, then in Ireland, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneasiness as well as he could. Some of his sanguine correspondents had sent him

word, that the Queen began to stop her hand, and the church-party to despond. At the same time, the Duke of Shrewsbury happened to send him a letter filled with great expressions of civility: The Earl was so weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three standers-by, "Damn him, he is making fair weather with me; but, by G-d, I will have his head."

But these short hopes were soon blasted, by taking the Treasurer's staff from the Earl of Godolphin; which was done in a manner not very gracious, her Majesty sending him a letter, by a very ordinary messenger, commanding him to break it. The Treasury was immediately put into commission, with Earl Powlet at the head; but Mr. Harley, who was one of the number, and at the same time made Chancellor of the Exchequer, was already supposed to preside behind the curtain.

Upon the fall of that great minister and favourite, that whole party became dispirited, and seemed to expect the worst that could follow. The Earl of Wharton immediately desired, and obtained leave, to come for England, leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himself with the utmost profligateness, injustice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and detestation of all good men, even of his own party.

And here, because my coming into the knowledge of the new ministry began about this time, I must digress a little, to relate some circumstances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no stranger to the court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my study, yet I had dealt very little with politics, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late King William's death; when, returning with the Earl of Berkeley from Ireland, and falling upon the subject of the five great Lords, who were then impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, by the House of Commons, I happened to say, that the same manner of proceeding, at least as it appeared to me from the news we received of it in Ireland, had ruined the liberties of Athens and Rome, and that it might be easy to prove it from history. Soon after I went to London; and, in a few weeks, drew

drew up a discourse, under the title of *The Contests and Dissentions of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Consequences they had upon both those States*. This discourse I sent very privately to the press, with the strictest injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately to my residence in Ireland. The book was greedily bought, and read; and charged some time upon my Lord Sommers, and some time upon the Bishop of Salisbury; the latter of whom told me afterwards, that he was forced to disown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment, wherewith he was threatened*.

Returning next year for England, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received, (which was the first I ever printed†) I must confess, the vanity of a young man prevailed with me, to let myself be known for the author: Upon which my Lords Sommers and Hallifax, as well as the Bishop above mentioned, desired my acquaintance, with great marks of esteem and professions of kindness: Not to mention the Earl of Sunderland, who had been of my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to serve me since the death of the King, and were very liberal in promising me the greatest preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power. I soon grew domestic with Lord Hallifax, and was as often with Lord Sommers, as the formality of his nature (the only unconvertible fault he had) made it agreeable to me.

It was then I began to trouble myself with the difference between the principles of Whig and Tory; having formerly employed myself in other, and, I think, much better speculations. I talked often upon this subject with Lord Sommers; told him,

* Vide Swift's Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr. Jonathan Swift, chap. vi. p. 121. where there is a droll, pleasant dialogue, between Dr. Swift and Bishop Sheridan, relating to this famous Tract.

† Meaning the first political piece he had ever printed: otherwise it is not true. For, the Tale of a Tub, and the Battle of the Books, were printed in or about the year 1697. Or, perhaps, Doctor Swift, having not thought proper to acknowledge himself the author of those pieces, imagined he had a right to say, this discourse was the first he had ever printed; two or three poems, in the Athenian Oracle, which were printed when he was a very young man, being not worth his remembrance.

that, having been long conversant with the Greek and Roman authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to be what they called a Whig in politics; and that, besides, I thought it impossible, upon any other principle, to defend or submit to the Revolution: But, as to religion, I confessed myself to be an High-churchman, and that I did not conceive how any one, who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwise: That I had observed very well with what insolence and haughtiness some Lords of the High-church party treated not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatsoever, and thought this was sufficiently recompensed by their professions of zeal to the church: That I had likewise observed how the Whig Lords took a direct contrary measure, treated the persons of particular clergymen with great curtesy, but shewed much ill-will and contempt for the order in general: That I knew it was necessary for their party, to make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of Protestants to be members of their body: That I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either side; but, that the connivance, or encouragement, given by the Whigs to those writers of pamphlets, who reflected upon the whole body of the clergy, without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppose them: And, that I doubted his Lordship's friends did not consider the consequence of this. My Lord Sommers, in appearance, entered very warmly into the same opinion, and said very much of the endeavours he had often used to redress that evil I complained of. This his Lordship, as well as my Lord Hallifax, (to whom I have talked in the same manner) can very well remember: And I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the same party, that both their Lordships, about the time of Lord Godolphin's removal, did upon occasion call to mind what I had said to them five years before.

In my journeys to England I continued upon the same foot of acquaintance with the two Lords last mentioned, until the time of Prince George's death, when the Queen, who, as is
before

before related, had for some years favoured that party, now made Lord Sommers President of the Council, and the Earl of Wharton Lieutenant of Ireland. Being then in London, I received letters from some Bishops of Ireland, to solicit the Earl of Wharton about the remittal of the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the Queen had long promised, and wherein I had been employed before, with some hopes of success from the Earl of Godolphin. It was the first time I ever was in company with the Earl of Wharton; he received me with sufficient coldness, and answered the request I made in behalf of the clergy with very poor and lame excuses, which amounted to a refusal. I complained of this usage to Lord Sommers, who would needs bring us together to his house, and present me to him; where he received me as drily as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the Earl of Wharton would endeavour, when he went to Ireland, to take off the Test, as a step to have it taken off here: Upon which I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, shewing the danger to the church by such an intent. Although I took all care to be private, yet the Lieutenant's chaplain, and some others, guessed me to be the author, and told his Excellency their suspicions; whereupon I saw him no more until I went to Ireland. At my taking leave of Lord Sommers, he desired I would carry a letter from him to the Earl of Wharton, which I absolutely refused; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I staid some months in Leicestershire; went to Ireland; and, immediately upon my landing, retired to my country-parish, without seeing the Lieutenant, or any other person; resolving to send him Lord Sommers's letter by the post. But, being called up to town, by the incessant entreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greatest part of his government, I lived in the country, saw the Lieutenant very seldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the least degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his secretary Mr. Addison, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance.

Upon

Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to careſs me, which I underſtood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church-party.

I mentioned theſe insignificant particulars, as it will be eaſily judged, for ſome reaſons that are purely perſonal to myſelf; it having been objected by ſeveral of thoſe poor pamphleteers, who have blotted ſo much paper to ſhew their malice againſt me, that I was a favourer of the low-party. Whereas it hath been manifeſt to all men, that, during the higheſt dominion of that faction, I had publiſhed ſeveral tracts in oppoſition to the meaſures then taken: For inſtance, A Project for the Reformation of Manners, in a letter to the Counteſs of Berkeley; The Sentiments of a Church-of-England man; an Argument againſt abolishing Chriſtianity; and, laſtly, a Letter to a Member of Parliament againſt taking off the Teſt in Ireland, which I have already mentioned to have been publiſhed at the time the Earl of Wharton was ſetting out to his government of that kingdom. But thoſe who are loud and violent in coffee-houſes, although generally they do a cauſe more hurt than good, yet will ſeldom allow any other merit; and it is not to ſuch as theſe that I attempt to vindicate myſelf.

About the end of Auguſt 1710, I went for England, at the deſire and by the appointment of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of that kingdom; under whoſe hands I had a commiſſion to ſolicit, in conjunction with two Biſhops who were then in London, the firſt-fruits and twentieths to the clergy, which had been many years ſolicited in vain. Upon my arrival in town, I found the two Biſhops were gone into the country; whereupon I got myſelf introduced to Mr. Harley, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and acted as firſt miniſter. He received me with great kindneſs; told me, that he and his friends had long expected my arrival; and, upon ſhewing my commiſſion, immediately undertook to perform it, which he accordingly did in leſs than three weeks, having ſettled it at five meetings with the Queen, according to a ſcheme I offered him,

and got me the Queen's promise for a further and more important favour to the clergy of Ireland; which the Bishops there, deceived by misinformation, not worth mentioning in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good issue.

When the affair of the first-fruits was fully dispatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr. Harley, in the name of the clergy of Ireland, and of my own, and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr. Harley told me, he and his friends knew very well what useful things I had written against the principles of the late discarded faction; and, that my personal esteem for several among them, would not make me a favourer of their cause: That there was now entirely a new scene: That the Queen was resolved to employ none but those who were friends to the constitution of church and state: That their great difficulty lay in the want of some good pen, to keep up the spirit raised in the people, to assert the principles, and justify the proceedings of the new ministers. * *Upon that subject he fell into some personal civilities, which will not become me to repeat.* He added, That this province was in the hands of several persons, among whom some were too busy, and others too idle to pursue it; and concluded, that it should be his particular care, to establish me here in England, and represent me to the Queen as a person they could not be without.

I promised to do my endeavours, in that way, for some few months; to which he replied, He expected no more; and that he had other and greater occasions for me.

Upon the rise of this ministry, the principal persons in power thought it necessary, that some weekly paper should be published, with just reflections upon former proceedings, and defending the present measures of her Majesty. This was begun about the time of the Lord Godolphin's removal, under the name of the Examiner. About a dozen of these papers, written with much spirit and sharpness, some by Mr. Secretary St.

* These words printed in Italicks are in the original erased, perhaps to avoid the imputation of vanity.

John,

John, since Lord Bolingbroke; others by Dr. Atterbury, since Bishop of Rochester; and others again by Mr. Prior, Doctor Freind, &c. were published with great applause. But these gentlemen, grown weary of the work, or otherways employed, the determination was, that I should continue it, which I did accordingly about eight months. But, my stile being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in some manner until her Majesty's Death.

It was Mr. Harley's custom, every Saturday, that four or five of his most intimate friends, among those he had taken in upon the great change made at court, should dine at his house; and, after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at first, consisted only of the Lord-keeper Harcourt, the Earl Rivers, the Earl of Peterborow, Mr. Secretary St. John, and myself: And here, after dinner, they used to discourse, and settle matters of great importance. Several other Lords were afterwards, by degrees, admitted; as, the Dukes of Ormond, Shrewsbury, and Argyle; the Earls of A—y, Dartmouth, and P—t; the Lord B—y, &c. These meetings were always continued, except when the Queen was at Windsor; but, as they grew more numerous, became of less consequence; and ended only in drinking and general conversation; of which I may, perhaps, have occasion to speak hereafter.

My early appearance at these meetings, which many thought to be of greater consequence than really they were, could not be concealed, although I used all my endeavours to that purpose. This gave the occasion to some great men, who thought me already in the secret, to complain to me of the suspicions entertained by many of our friends in relation to Mr. Harley, even before he was Lord Treasurer; so early were sown those seeds of discontent, which afterwards grew up so high. The cause of their complaint was, That so great a number of the adverse party continued in employment; and some, particularly the Duke of Somerset and Earl of Cholmondely, in great

stations at court. They could not believe Mr. Harley was in earnest; but, that he designed to constitute a motly comprehensive administration, which they said the kingdom would never endure. I was once invited to a meeting of some lords and gentlemen, where these grievances were at large related to me, with an earnest desire that I would represent them in the most respectful manner to Mr. Harley, upon a supposition that I was in high credit with him. I excused myself from such an office upon the newness of my acquaintance with Mr. Harley; however, I represented the matter fairly to him; against which he argued a good deal, from the general reasons of politicians; the necessity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of disobliging those who must remain unprovided for, and the like usual topicks among statesmen. But, there was a secret in this matter which neither I, nor indeed any of his most intimate friends, were then apprised of; neither did he, at that time, enter with me further than to assure me very solemnly, That no person should have the smallest employment, either civil or military, whose principles were not firm for the church and monarchy.

However, these over-moderate proceedings in the court gave rise to a party in the House of Commons, which appeared under the name of the October-club; a fantastic appellation, found out to distinguish a number of country gentlemen, and their adherents, who professed in the greatest degree what was called the High-church principle. They grew in number to almost a third part of the House, held their meetings at certain times and places, and there concerted what measures they were to take in parliament. They professed their jealousy of the court and ministry; declared, upon all occasions, their desire of a more general change, as well as of a strict enquiry into former mismanagement; and seemed to expect, that those in power should openly avow the old principles in church and state. I was then of opinion, and still continue so, that if this body of men could have remained some time united, they would have put the crown under a necessity of acting in a more steady and strenuous

strenuous manner. But Mr. Harley, who best knew the disposition of the Queen, was forced to break their measures; which he did by that very obvious contrivance of dividing them among themselves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The ministers gave every where out, that the October-club were their friends, and acted by their directions; to confirm which Mr. Secretary St. John and Mr. B—, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, publicly dined with them at one of their meetings. Thus were eluded all the consequences of that assembly; although a remnant of them, who conceived themselves betrayed by the rest, did afterwards meet under the denomination of the March club, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then rose, had been chosen without any endeavours from the court, to secure elections; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenancies changed throughout the kingdom. For, the trial of Doctor Sacheverel had raised, or discovered, such a spirit in all parts, that the ministers could very safely leave the electors to themselves, and hereby gain a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by some refiners of both parties, numbered among the strains of Mr. Harley's politicks, who was said to avoid an over-great majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a ministry. But, from the small experience I have of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worst sort of all conjectures; and from this one occasion I take leave to observe, That of some hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I never yet knew any refiner to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reason why the court did not interpose in matter of elections, was because they thought themselves sure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate. Besides it afterwards appeared upon some exigencies, which the court had much at heart, that they were more than once like to fail for want of numbers. Mr. Harley, in order to give credit to his administration, resolved upon two very important points; first, to secure the unprovided debts of the nation; and, secondly, to
put

put an end to the war. Of the methods he took to compass both those ends, I have treated at large in another work: I shall only observe, that while he was preparing to open to the House of Commons his scheme for securing the public debts, he was stabbed by the Marquis de Guiscard, while he was sitting in the Council-chamber at the Cock-pit, with a Committee of nine or ten Lords of the cabinet, met on purpose to examine the Marquis upon a discovery of a treasonable correspondence he held with France.

This fact was so uncommon in the manner and circumstances of it, that although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furnished the author with some materials, yet I thought it would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The assassin was seized, by Mr. Harley's order, upon the eighth of March 1710-11; and, brought before the committee of Lords, was examined about his corresponding with France: Upon his denial, Mr. Harley produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The Marquis, prepared for mischief, had conveyed a penknife into his pocket, while the messenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the surprize of his letter appearing against him, he came suddenly behind Mr. Harley, and reaching his arm round, stabbed that minister into the middle of the breast, about a quarter of an inch above the *cartilago ensiformis*; the penknife striking upon the bone, and otherwise obstructed by a thick embroidered waistcoat, broke short at the handle, which Guiscard still grasped, and redoubled his blow. The confusion upon this accident is easier conceived than described: The result was, that the Marquis, whether by the wounds given him by some of the Lords, or the bruises he received from the messengers while they were seizing him, or the neglect of his surgeon; or, that being unwilling to live, he industriously concealed one of his wounds; he died in a few days after. But Mr. Harley, after a long illness, and frequent ill-symptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiscard

Guiscard was the younger brother of the Count of that name a very honourable and worthy person, formerly Governor of Namur. But this Marquis was a reproach to his family, prostitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his Prince. As to the rest, of a very poor understanding, and the most tedious, trifling talker, I ever conversed with. He was grown needy by squandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in Holland, his regiment taken from him, and his pension retrenched; the despair of which first put him upon his French correspondence; and the discovery of that drove him into madness. I had known him some years; and, meeting him upon the Mall a few hours before his examination, I observed to a friend then with me, that I wondered to see Guiscard pass so often by without taking notice of me. But although, in the later part of his life, his countenance grew cloudy enough, yet I confess I never suspected him to be a man of resolution, or courage, sufficient to bear him out in so desperate an attempt.

I have some very good reasons to know, that the first misunderstanding between Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, which afterwards had such unhappy consequences upon the publick affairs, took its rise during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr. St. John affected to say in several companies, that Guiscard intended the blow against him; which, if it were true, the consequence must be, that Mr. St. John had all the merit, while Mr. Harley remained with nothing but the danger and the pain. But, I am apt to think, Mr. St. John was either mistaken, or misinformed: However, the matter was thus represented in the weekly paper called the Examiner, which Mr. St. John perused before it was printed, but made no alteration in that passage.

This management was looked upon, at least, as a piece of youthful indiscretion in Mr. St. John; and, perhaps, was represented in a worse view to Mr. Harley: Neither am I altogether sure, that Mr. St. John did not entertain some prospect of succeeding as first minister, in case of Mr. Harley's death; which,

during his illness, was frequently apprehended. And, I remember very well, that, upon visiting Mr. Harley, as soon as he was in a condition to be seen, I found several of his nearest relations talk very freely of some proceedings of Mr. St. John; enough to make me apprehend, that their friendship would not be of any long continuance.

Mr. Harley, soon after his recovery, was made an Earl, and Lord Treasurer; and Lord Keeper, a Baron.



P R E F A C E
T O T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E

Four last Years of Queen ANNE's Reign.

HAVING written the following History at Windsor, in the happy reign of her Majesty Queen Anne, of ever glorious, blessed and immortal memory; I resolved to publish it for the satisfaction of my fellow subjects in the year 1713; but being under a necessity of going to Ireland, to take possession of the Deanry of St. Patrick's, Dublin; I left the original with the ministers; and having staid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found at my return, that my Lord Treasurer Oxford, and the Secretary my Lord Bolingbroke, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publishing it, without some alterations which I would not submit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her Majesty's death, which happened about a year after.

I have ever since preserved the original very safely; too well knowing what a turn the world would take upon the German Family's succeeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been established solemnly by the act of an undisputed parliament, brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Harley, who was then speaker.

But, as I have said in another discourse, it was very well understood some years before her Majesty's death, how the new King would act immediately upon his entrance in the choice of those (and those alone) whom he resolved to trust; and consequently what reports would industriously be raised, as

well as spread, to expose the proceedings of her Majesty herself, as well as of her servants; who have been ever since blasted as enemies to the present establishment, by the most ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to have been daily conversant with the persons then in power; never absent in times of business or conversation, until a few weeks before her Majesty's death; and a witness of almost every step they made in the course of their administration; I must have been very unfortunate not to be better informed than those miserable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the same time, I freely confess, it appeared necessary as well as natural, upon such a mighty change as the death of a sovereign, that those who were to be in power upon the succession, and resolved to act in every part by a direct contrary system of politics, should load their predecessors with as much infamy as the most inveterate malice and envy could suggest, or the most stupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could swallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write with the utmost impartiality, the following History of the four last years of her Majesty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced persons at present, as well as posterity; I am persuaded in my own mind, as likewise by the advice of my oldest and wisest friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man by endeavouring to set future ages right in their judgment of that happy reign; and, as a faithful historian, I cannot suffer falsehoods to run on any longer, not only against all appearance of truth as well as probability, but even against those happy events, which owe their success to the very measures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials for this History, besides what I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence reposed in me for those four years, by the chief persons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambassadors abroad, and from the answers as well as instructions sent them by our secretaries of state, or by the first minister the Earl of Oxford. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered
into

into books in the secretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention several memorials given me by the ministers at home. Further, I was a constant witness and observer of all that passed, and entered every particular of any consequence upon paper.

I was so far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her Majesty issued a proclamation, offering 300 l. to any person who would discover the author of a certain short treatise *, which the Queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one shilling from the minister, or any other present, except that of a few books; nor did I want their assistance to support me. I very often dined indeed with the Treasurer and Secretary; but, in those days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time since. I absolutely refused to be chaplain to the Lord Treasurer; because I thought it would ill become me to be in a state of dependence.

I say this to shew, that I had no other bias than my own opinion of persons and affairs. I preserved several of the opposite party in their employments, who were persons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. Addison and Mr. Congreve, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the Treasurer, who much esteemed them both; and by his Lordship's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr. Steele might have been safe enough, if his continually repeated indiscretions, and a zeal mingled with scurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberless prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of those, who, to serve their own interest or ambition, have cast off all religion, morality, justice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the present age, yet I hope to be so in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of England, if either of these shall then subsist or not.

* Public Spirit of the Whigs.

I have no interest or inclination to palliate the mistakes, or omissions, or want of steadiness, or unhappy misunderstandings among a few of those who then presided in affairs.

Nothing is more common than the virulence of superficial and ill-informed writers, against the conduct of those who are now called Prime Ministers: And, since factions appear at present to be at a greater height than in any former times, although, perhaps, not so equally poised; it may probably concern those who are now in their height, if they have any regard for their own memories in future ages, to be less warm against others, who humbly differ from them in some state-opinions. Old persons remember at least by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed against the first Earl of Clarendon, whose character, as it now stands, might be a pattern for all ministers; although even Bishop Burnet of Sarum, whose principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are so little esteemed upon many accounts, hath been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the Treasurer and Secretary Bolingbroke, after my utmost endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them; I retired to a friend in Berkshire, where I staid until her Majesty's death; and then immediately returned to my station in Dublin, where I continued about twelve years without once seeing England. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs; neither changing nor adding, further than by correcting the style: And, if I have been guilty of any mistakes, they must be of small moment; for it was hardly possible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I shall not be very uneasy under the obloquy that may, perhaps, be cast upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the present prevailing party. And, yet, I cannot find the least inconsistency with conscience or honour, upon the death of so excellent a Princess as her late Majesty, for a wise and good man to submit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Protestant successor; whose hereditary title was confirmed by the Queen and both houses of parliament, with the greatest unanimity,

unanimity, it after had been made an article in the treaty, that every prince in our alliance should be a guarantee of that succession. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther; that, if the negotiators of that peace had been chosen out of the most professed zealots for the interests of the Hanover family, they could not have bound up the French king, or the Hollanders, more strictly than the Queen's plenipotentiaries did in confirming the present succession; which was in them so much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, because they perfectly well knew, that they should never receive the least mark of favour, when the succession had taken place.

Quarrels among themselves, and the design charged upon them of altering the succession of the Crown.

JUNE MDCCLXXV.

SINCE the death of the Queen, it was reasonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all public affairs and speculations: Besides, the scene and station I am in have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compass: And being wholly excluded from any view of the public administration, upon that having been in some degree of truth and privacy, I have not found the transition very easy, and education.



I am better qualified both by nature and education, for reading and expounding, than for being one of my diversion, having always disliked a mixed and general conversation, which, however it fell to my lot, was in my power to avoid, and being placed by the duties of my situation at a great distance from the seat of business, I am almost ignorant of many common events which happen in the world. Only from the little I know and hear, it is manifest that the hearts of most men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealousies, and with a rage to a degree that there seems to be an end of all amiable commerce between people of different parties, and what the consequences of this may be, let

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A N
E N Q U I R Y

Into the BEHAVIOUR of the

QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY,

With Relation to their

QUARRELS among themselves, and the Design charged
upon them of altering the Succession of the Crown:

J U N E M D C C X V .

SINCE the death of the Queen, it was reasonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all public affairs and speculations: Besides, the scene and station I am in have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compass: And being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the present administration, upon that invincible reason of having been in some degree of trust and confidence with the former; I have not found the transition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified both by nature and education.

The reading and enquiring after news not being one of my diversions, having always disliked a mixed and general conversation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and being placed by the duties of my function at a great distance from the seat of business; I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: Only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifest that the hearts of most men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealousies, or else with hatred and rage, to a degree that there seems to be an end of all amicable commerce between people of different parties; and what the consequences of this may be,

let those consider who have contributed to the causes; which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late Ministry, much insisted on, and little understood by those who write or talk upon that subject; wherein I am sufficiently qualified to give satisfaction; and would gladly do it, because I see very much weight laid upon each, and most mens opinions of persons and things regulated accordingly.

About two months before the Queen's death, having lost all hopes of any reconciliation between the Treasurer and the rest of the ministry; I retired into the country, to await the issue of that conflict, which ended, as every one had reason to foresee in the Earl of Oxford's disgrace; to whom the Lord Bolingbroke immediately succeeded as first minister: And I was told, that an Earldom and the Garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the Treasurer's staff against the next session of parliament; of which I can say nothing certain, being then in Berkshire, and receiving this account from some of his friends; but all these schemes became soon abortive, by the death of the Queen, which happened in three days after the Earl of Oxford's removal.

Upon this great event, I took the first opportunity of withdrawing to my place of residence; and rejoiced as much as any man for his Majesty's quiet accession to the throne, to which I then thought, and it has since appeared indisputable, that the peace procured by the late ministry had, among other good effects, been highly instrumental. And, I thank God, I have been ever since a loyal humble spectator, during all the changes that have happened, although it were no secret to any man of common sagacity, that his present Majesty's choice of his servants, whenever he should happen to succeed, would be determined to those who most opposed the proceedings during the four last years of his Predecessor's reign: And, I think, there hath not since happened one particular of any moment, which the ministers did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the dispositions

sitions of the court at Hanover in conjunction with the party at home, which, upon all occasions, publicly disapproved their proceedings, excepting only the attainder of the Duke of Ormond; which, indeed, neither they nor I, nor, I believe, any one person in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foresee; and, now it is done, it looks like a dream to those, who will consider the nobleness of his birth, the great merits of his ancestors, and his own; his long unspotted loyalty, his affability, generosity, and sweetness of nature. I knew him long and well, and, excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for some years over, and that easiness of temper, which did sometimes lead him to follow the judgment of those who had, by many degrees, less understanding than himself; I have not conversed with a more faultless person; of great justice and charity; a true sense of religion, without ostentation; of undoubted valour, thoroughly skilled in his trade of a soldier; a quick and ready apprehension, with a good share of understanding, and a general knowledge in men and history, although under some disadvantage by an invincible modesty, which however could not but render him yet more amiable to those who had the honour and happiness of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a short imperfect character of that great person the Duke of Ormond, who is now attainted for high treason; and, therefore, I shall not presume to offer one syllable in his vindication, upon that head, against the decision of a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at least to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the Queen, his Mistress, he committed those faults for which he hath now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune; he no more conceived himself to be acting high-treason, than he did when he was wounded and a prisoner at London, for his sovereign King William, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at Vigo.

Upon this occasion, although I am sensible it is an old precept of wisdom to admire at nothing in human life, yet I consider, at the same time, how easily some men arrive to the practice
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of this maxim, by the help of plain stupidity or ill-nature, without any strain of philosophy; and, although the uncertainty of human things be one of the most obvious reflections in morality; yet, such unexpected, sudden, and signal instances of it, as have lately happened among us, are so much out of the usual form, that a wise man may, perhaps, be allowed to start and look aside, as at a sudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune; who, having singled out three persons from among the rest of mankind, on whose friendship and protection I might depend; whose conversation I most valued, and chiefly confined my self to; should live to see them all, within the compass of a year, accused of high treason; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the issue. As my own heart was free from all treasonable thoughts, so I did little imagine myself to be perpetually in the company of traitors. But *the fashion of this world passeth away*. Having already said something of the Duke of Ormond, I shall add a little towards the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with so many advantages of nature and fortune, as the late Secretary Bolingbroke: Descended from the best families in England, heir to a great patrimonial estate, of a sound constitution, and a most graceful, amiable person: But all these, had they been of equal value, were infinitely below, in degree, to the accomplishments of his mind, which was adorned with the choicest gifts that God hath yet thought fit to bestow upon the children of men; a strong memory, a clear judgment, a vast range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehension, an invincible eloquence, with a most agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all these talents by travel and study, the latter of which he seldom omitted, even in the midst of his pleasures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a pursuer: For, although he was persuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which

he did for some time to such a degree that he seemed rather abstemious; yet he was said to allow himself other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof, I have reason to believe, he began to be sensible. But he was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both; upon which account he had a great respect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, especially the latter, whom he would gladly be thought to resemble. His detractors charged him with some degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds; since it was hardly possible for a young man, with half the business of the nation upon him, and the applause of the whole, to escape some tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to business, was a most artful negotiator, and perfectly understood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at in a man of his temper, was his prodigious application, whenever he thought it necessary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the lowest clerk in an office. His talent of speaking in public, for which he was so very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others; but understanding men, of both parties, have assured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.

The Earl of Oxford is a person of as much virtue, as can possibly consist with the love of power; and his love of power is no greater than what is common to men of his superior capacities; neither did any man ever appear to value it less, after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only instance that ever fell within my memory, or observation, of a person passing from a private life, through the several stages of greatness, without any perceivable impression upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illustrious, being descended from the heirs-general of the Veres and the Mortimers, so he seemed to value that accidental advantage in himself, and others, more than it could pretend to deserve. He abounded in good-nature, and good-humour; although

although subject to passion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himself; which, however, he kept under the strictest government, till towards the end of his ministry, when he began to grow soured, and to suspect his friends; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former, whom he carested without distinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them should be his enemies; and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be so; at least, if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets published against him, which he frequently read, by way of amusement, with a most unaffected indifference: Neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion so much, as by appearing uneasy when the dealers in that kind of writing first began to pour out their scurrilities against me; which, he thought, was a weakness altogether inexcusable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greatest variety of knowledge that I have any where met; was a perfect master of the learned languages, and well skilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a most exact judgment. In drawing up any state paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in so strong and clear a light. Although his stile were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend; yet, often, to save time, he would leave the smaller alterations to others. I have heard that he spoke but seldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: But no man equalled him in the knowledge of our constitution; the reputation whereof made him be chosen speaker to three successive parliaments; which office I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with universal applause: His sagacity was such, that I could produce very amazing instances of it, if they were not unseasonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be pursued, and adhered to it: And one or two others in the ministry have confessed very often to me, that, after having condemned his opinion, they

found him in the right, and themselves in the wrong. He was utterly a stranger to fear; and, consequently, had a presence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality, and contempt of money, were such, that he almost ruined his estate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was so great, that it neither consisted with the present corruptions of the age, nor the circumstances of the time. He was seldom mistaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion by the representation of others; except toward the end of his ministry. He was affable and courteous, extremely easy and agreeable in conversation, and altogether disengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expressions that could possibly tend to what was indecent or prophane. His imperfections were, at least, as obvious, although not so numerous as his virtues. He had an air of secrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great minister, because it warns all men to prepare against it. He often gave no answer at all, and very seldom a direct one: And I the rather blame this reservedness of temper, because I have known a very different practice succeed much better: of which, among others, the late Earl of Sunderland, and the present Lord Sommers, persons of great abilities, are remarkable instances; who used to talk in so frank a manner, that they seemed to discover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would easily unlock the breasts of others. But the Earl of Oxford pleads, in excuse of this charge, that he hath seldom or never communicated any thing which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he hath not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiscretion of those he discovered it to. Another of his imperfections, universally known and complained of, was procrastination, or delay; which was, doubtless, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and minister better matched than his Sovereign and he, upon that article: And, therefore,

therefore, in the disposal of employments, wherein the Queen was very absolute, a year would often pass before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewise heavily charged with the common court vice, of promising very liberally, and seldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet, I am confident, his intentions were generally better than his disappointed solicitors would believe. It may be likewise said of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not understand the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us used to observe, that those whom he talked well of, or suffered to be often near him, were not in a situation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt, or dislike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, because I have observed it so often mistaken by the wise reasoners of both parties: Besides, having had the honour, for almost four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than usually happens to men of my level, and this without the least mercenary obligation; I thought it lay in my power, as I am sure it is in my will, to represent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often considered the qualities and dispositions of these two ministers, I am at a loss to think how it should come to pass that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to public affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniencies and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appear so many examples, both antient and modern, and of our own as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is usually imputed in the cases of Themistocles, Aristides, Scipio, and others, and of Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earls of Clarendon and Strafford, here in England. But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the several branches and subordinations of power, hath made the science of governing sufficiently obvious to common capacities; otherwise the
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world would be left in a desolate condition, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the most fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation, among which princes, who, of all other mortals, are the worst educated, have twenty millions to one against them that they shall not be of the number; and proportionable odds, for the same reasons, are against every one of noble birth, or great estates. Accordingly we find, that the dullest nations, antient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or persons qualified for administration. But I take the infelicity of such extraordinary men to have been caused by their neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of *little helps* and *little hindrances*; which is made by Hobbes the definition of Magnanimity: And this contempt, as it certainly displeases the people in general, so it giveth offence to all with whom such ministers have to deal: For, I never yet knew a minister, who was not earnestly desirous to have it thought, that the art of government was a most profound science; whereas it requires no more, in reality, than diligence, honesty, and a moderate share of plain natural sense. And, therefore, men thus qualified may, very *reasonably* and justly, think that the business of the world is best brought about by regularity and forms, wherein themselves excel. For I have frequently observed more causes of discontent arise from the practice of some refined ministers, to act in common business, out of the common road, than from all the usual topics of displeasure against men in power. It is the same thing in other scenes of life, and among all societies or communities; where, no men are better trusted, or have more success in business, than those who, with some honesty and a moderate portion of understanding, are strict observers of time, place, and method: And, on the contrary, nothing is more apt to expose men to the censure and obloquy of their colleagues, and the public, than a contempt, or neglect of these circumstances, however attended with a superior genius, and an equal desire of doing good: Which hath made me sometimes say, to a
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great person of this latter character, that a small infusion of the *Alderman* was necessary to those who are employed in public affairs. Upon this occasion, I cannot forget a very trifling instance: That one day observing the same person to divide a sheet of paper with a penknife, the sharpness of the instrument occasioned it's moving so irregularly and crooked, that he spoiled the whole sheet; whereupon I advised him to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better with a blunt piece of ivory, which, directed by a little strength and a steady hand, never failed to go right.

But, to return from this long digression: About a fortnight after the Queen's death, I came to my place of residence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by several of my acquaintance of both parties; and soon learned, that what they objected was the general sense of the rest. Those of the church-side made me a thousand reproaches upon the slowness and inactivity of my friends, upon their foolish quarrels with each other, for no visible cause, and thereby sacrificing the interests of the church and kingdom to their private piques. And that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good opinion of the court at Hanover. But the weight of these gentlemens displeasure fell upon the Earl of Oxford; that he had acted a trimming part, was never thoroughly in the interest of the church, but held separate commerce with the adverse party: That, either from his negligence, procrastinating nature, or some sinister end, he had let slip many opportunities of strengthening the church's friends: That he undertook more business than he was equal to, affected a monopoly of power, and would concert nothing with the rest of the ministers. Many facts were likewise mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I shall only take notice of one, relating to Ireland, where he kept four bishopricks undisposed of, though often and most earnestly pressed to have them filled; by which omission the church interest of that kingdom, in the House of Lords, is in danger of being irrecoverably lost.

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Those who discoursed with me after this manner, did, at the same time, utterly renounce all regard for the Pretender; and mentioned, with pleasure, the glorious opportunity, then in his Majesty's hands, of putting an end to party-distinctions for the time to come: And the only apprehension that seemed to give them any uneasiness was, lest the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, represent their loyalty with advantage.

On the other side, the gainers and men in hopes by the Queen's death, talked with great freedom in a very different stile: They all directly asserted, that the whole late ministry were fully determined to bring in the Pretender, although they would sometimes a little demur upon the Earl of Oxford; and, by a more modern amendment, they charged the same accusation, without any reserve, upon the late Queen herself. That, if her Majesty had died but a month later, our ruin would have been inevitable. But in that juncture it happened, (to use their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain) *things were not ripe*. That this accusation would, in a short time, infallibly be proved as clear as the sun at noon-day to all the world: And the consequences naturally following from these positions were, that the leaders ought to lose their heads, and all their abettors be utterly stript of power and favour.

These being the sentiments and discourses of both parties, tending to load the late ministry with faults of a very different nature; it may, perhaps, be either of some use or satisfaction to examine those two points; that is to say, first, how far these ministers are answerable to their friends for their neglect, mismanagement, and mutual dissensions; and, secondly, with what justice they are accused, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the succession of the crown in favour of the Pretender.

It is true, indeed, I have occasionally done this already in two several Treatises, of which the one is an history, and the other memoirs of particular facts, but neither of them fit to see the light, at present; because they abound with cha-

acters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and, therefore, intended only for the instructing of the next age, and establishing the reputation of those who have been useful to their country in the present. At the same time, I take this opportunity of assuring those who may happen, some years hence, to read the history I have written, that the blackest characters to be met with in it were not drawn with the least mixture of malice, or ill-will, but merely to expose the odiousness of vice. For I have always held it as a maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an historian, who indeed hath it in his power to reward virtue, but not to punish vice: Because I never yet saw a profligate person, who seemed to have the least regard in what manner his name should be transmitted to posterity: And I know a certain * Lord, not long since dead, who, I am very confident, would not have disposed of one single shilling to have had it in his choice, whether he should be represented to future ages as an *Atticus* or a *Cataline*.

However, being firmly resolved, for *very material reasons*, to avoid giving the least offence to any party or person in power; I shall barely set down some facts and circumstances, during the four last years of Queen Anne's reign, which at present are little known; and whereby those of the church-party, who object against the unsteadiness, neglect, and want of concert in the late ministry, may better account for their faults. Most of those facts I can bear witness of myself, and have received the rest from sufficient authority.

It is most certain, that, when the Queen first began to change her servants, it was not from a dislike of things, but of persons, and those persons were a very small number. To be more particular, would be *incedere per ignes*. It was the issue of Dr. Sacheverel's trial that encouraged her to proceed so far; and several of the low-church party, knowing that her displeasure went no further than against one single family, did not appear

* Earl of Wharton.

to dislike what was done; of which I could give some * extraordinary instances. But that famous trial had raised such a spirit in the nation, against the parliament, that her Majesty thought it necessary to dissolve them, which, I am confident, she did not at first intend. Upon this resolution, delivered by the Queen at council, in a more determinate manner than was usual with her; as I was particularly informed by my Lord Sommers, then president, some, who were willing to sacrifice one or two persons, would not sacrifice their cause; but immediately flew off; and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to resign their employments, which the Queen suffered most of them to do with the utmost regret, and which those who knew her best thought to be real, especially Lord Sommers and Lord Cowper, for whom she had as great a personal regard and esteem, as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church-party was returned without the least assistance from the court; whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were secure; or, as Mr. Harley's detractors would have it, (who was then minister) from a refinement of his politics, not to suffer, upon the account of I know not what wise reasons, too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they soon began to discover more zeal than the Queen expected or desired; she had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehensive scheme, which she maintained with great firmness, nor would ever depart from, until about half a year before her death: But this neither the House of Commons nor the kingdom in general were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been in any juncture since: Several country-members, to almost a third part of the House, began immediately to form themselves into a body, under a fantastic name of the *October-club*. These daily pressed the ministry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealousy and discontent.

* Duke of Somerset.

I remember it was then commonly understood and expected, that, when the session ended a general removal would be made: But it happened otherwise; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was used in supplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime minister, I confess, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little satisfied with the solution I had heard, and partly knew that he acted thus to keep men at his devotion, by letting expectation lie in common; for I found the effect did not answer, and that, in the mean-time, he led so uneasy a life, by solicitations and pursuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his ministry, I did, at the request of several considerable persons, take the liberty of representing this matter to him; his answer was short and cold; That he hoped his friends would trust him; that he heartily wished none but those who loved the church and Queen, were employed; but that all things could not be done on a sudden. I have reason to believe, that his nearest acquaintance were then wholly at a loss what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preserve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while, in reality, he had little or none; and, besides, he thought it became him to take the burthen of reproach upon himself, rather than lay it upon the Queen his Mistress; who was grown very positive, slow, and suspicious; and, from the opinion of having been formerly too much *directed*, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be *advised*. So that few ministers had ever, perhaps, a harder game to play, between the jealousy and discontents of his friends, on one side, and the management of the Queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendship, in appearance, than what I observed between those three great men, who were then chiefly trusted; I mean the Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the first, where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they

bore to each other; and said, I would venture to prophesy, that however inconstant our court had hitherto been, their ministry would certainly last; for they had the church, the crown, and the people entirely on their side. Then it happened, that the public good and their private interest had the same bottom, which is a piece of good fortune that doth not always fall to the share of men in power: But, principally, because I observed they heartily loved one another; and I did not see how their kindness could be disturbed by competition, since each of them seemed contented with his own district: So that, notwithstanding the old maxim, which pronounceth court-friendships to be of no long duration, I was confident theirs would last as long as their lives. But, it seems the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiser than I, who lived to see this friendship first degenerate into indifference and suspicion, and thence corrupt into the greatest animosity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the discredit of me and my sagacity. By what degrees, and from what causes their dissensions grew, I shall, as far as it may be safe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr. Harley was stabbed by Guiscard, the writer of a weekly paper, called the *Examiner*, taking occasion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumstance, I know not upon what grounds, that the French assassin confessed he, at first, intended to have murdered Mr. Secretary St. John; who sitting at too great a distance, he was forced to vent his rage on the other. Whether the Secretary had been thus informed, or was content that others should believe it, I never yet could learn; but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of such a report, which, by a very unfair division, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr. St. John, and left Mr. Harley nothing but the danger and the pain: Of both which, although he had a sufficient share, (his physicians being often under apprehensions for his life) yet I am confident the time of his illness was a period of more quiet and ease than he ever enjoyed during the rest of his administration. This

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report was not unresented by Mr. Harley's friends; and the rather because the fact was directly otherwise, as it soon appeared by Guiscard's confession.

While that minister lay ill of his wound, and his life in question, the weight of business fell, in some measure, upon the Secretary, who was not without ambition; which, I confess, I have seldom found among the wants of great men; and it was conceived that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in case Mr. Harley should die; although, at the same time, I must do justice to Mr. St. John, by repeating what he said to me, with great appearance of concern, (and he was but an ill dissembler) That, if Mr. Harley's accident should prove fatal, it would be an irreparable loss: That, as things then stood, his life was absolutely necessary: That, as to himself, he was not master of the scheme by which they were to proceed, nor had credit enough with the Queen; neither did he see how it would be possible for them, in such a case, to wade through the difficulties they were then under. However, not to be over-particular in so nice a point, thus much is certain, that some things happened during Mr. Harley's confinement, which bred a coldness and jealousy between those two great men; and these, increasing by many subsequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr. Harley's recovery, which was soon followed by his promotion to an earldom, and the Treasurer's staff, he was earnestly pressed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein, I am confident, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put further difficulties in his way. The Queen having thought fit to take the key from the Duchess of Marlborough, it was, after some time, given to another great *Lady, wholly in the interests of the opposite party; who, by a most obsequious behaviour, of which she is a perfect mistress, and the privileges of her place, which

* Duchess of Somerset.

gave her continual access, quickly won so far upon the affections of her Majesty, that she had more personal credit than all the Queen's servants put together. Of this Lady's character and story, having spoken so much in other papers, which may one day see the light; I shall only observe, that, as soon as she was fixed in her station, the Queen, following the course of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were, indeed, used to divert her Majesty from this choice; but she continued steady, and pleaded, that, if she might not have liberty to chuse her own servants, she could not see what advantage she had gotten by the change of her ministry: And so little was her heart set upon what they call a High-church, or Tory administration, that several employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commissions, remained in the hands of those who most opposed the present proceedings; nor do I remember that any removal of consequence was made till the winter following, when the Earl of Nottingham was pleased to prepare and offer a vote, in the House of Lords, against any peace, while Spain continued in the hands of the Bourbon family. Of this vote the ministers had early notice; and, by casting up the numbers, concluded they should have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The Queen was desired, and promised, to speak to a certain Lord, who was looked upon as dubious: That Lord attended accordingly, but heard not a word of the matter from her Majesty, although she afterwards owned it was not for want of remembering, but from perfect indifference. The Treasurer, who trusted to promises, and reckoned that others would trust to his, was, by a most unseasonable piece of parsimony, grossly deceived; and the vote carried against the court. The Queen had the curiosity to be present at the debate; and appeared so little displeased at the event, or against those from whom she might have expected more compliance; that a * person in high station among her domestics, who, that day in her presence, had shewn his utmost eloquence (such as it was)

* Duke of Somerset.

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against the ministers, received a particular *mark of distinction and favour, which, by his post, he could not pretend to, and was not removed from her service but with exceeding difficulty, many months after. And it is certain that this vote could not have been carried, if some persons, very near her Majesty, had not given assurances where they were proper, that it would be acceptable to the Queen, which her behaviour seemed to confirm.

But, when the consequences of this vote were calmly represented to her, that the limitation specified therein had wholly tied up her hands, in case the recovery of Spain should be found impossible, as it was frequently allowed and owned by many principal leaders of the opposite party, and had, hitherto, been vainly endeavoured, either by treaty or war. That the kingdom was not in a condition to bear any longer its burthen and charge, especially with annual additions: That other expedients might possibly be found for preventing France and Spain from being united under the same king, according to the intent and letter of the grand alliance: That the design of this vote was to put her Majesty under the necessity of dissolving the parliament, beginning all things anew, and placing the administration in the hands of those whom she had thought fit to lay aside, and this by sacrificing her present servants to the rage and vengeance of the former; with many other obvious considerations, not very proper at this time to be repeated: Her Majesty, who was earnestly bent upon giving peace to her people, consented to fall upon the sole expedient, that her own coldness, or the Treasurer's thrift and want or contempt of artifice had left her; which was, to create a number of peers, sufficient to turn the balance in the House of Lords. I confess that, in my history of those times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more liberty, and consequently very unfit for present perusal, I have refined so far as to conjecture, that, if this were the Treasurer's counsel, he might possibly have given it upon some further

* To lead out the Queen.

views than that of avoiding the consequences of my Lord Nottingham's vote. And what those were, I suppose, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that, from the time of the Revolution to the period I am now speaking of, the favour of the court was almost perpetually turned towards those who, in the party term, are called Whigs, or the Low-church; and this was a space of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage; and the Bishops-bench almost wholly renewed. But the majority of landed men, still retaining the old church-principles in religion and government, notwithstanding all endeavours to convert them, the late king was under many insuperable difficulties during the course of his reign; elections seldom succeeding so well, as to leave the court-side without strenuous opposition, sufficient to carry many points against him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late Queen's succeeding to the crown, the church-party, who seemed to have grown more numerous, under all discouragements, began to conceive hopes, that her Majesty, who had always professed to favour their principles, would make use of their service. And, indeed, upon that foot, things stood for some time: But, a new war being resolved on, three persons, who had most credit with her Majesty, and who were then looked upon to be, at least, as high principled as could possibly consist with the Protestant succession, having consulted their friends, began to conceive that the military spirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen against France, more sanguine upon the power and wealth of England, and better versed in the arts of finding out funds, to which they had been so long used. There were some other motives for this transition of the ministers at that time, which are more proper for the History above-mentioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But, thus the Queen was brought to govern by what they call a Low-church ministry, which continued for several years: Till, at length, grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and success; and the
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nation rising into a flame, (whether justly or no) upon the trial of Dr. Sacheverel which, in effect, was a general muster of, both parties; her Majesty, following her own inclinations and those of her people, resolved to make some changes in the ministry, and take Mr. Harley into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge against that minister says, *by the basest insinuations*; upon which, being a determination of parliament, I shall not dispute: Although I confess to have received a very different account of that matter from a most excellent Lady, upon whose veracity I entirely depend; and who, being then in chief confidence with her mistress, must needs know a particular fact wherein she was immediately concerned and trusted, better than any one man, or number of men, except the majority of a House of Commons. When the new parliament met, whose elections were left entirely to the people, without the least influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church party in the nation outnumbered the other, and especially in the several counties. But, in the House of Lords, even after some management, there was but a weak and crazy majority: Nor even could this have been expected, if several great Lords, who were always reputed of the other party had not only complied, but been highly instrumental in the change; as the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyle, the Earls of Peterborough, Rivers, and some others, who certainly came into the Queen's measures upon other motives than that of party. Now, since the government of England cannot go on while the two Houses of Parliament are in opposition to each other; and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of Church-men: One of these two things was of necessity to be done; either, first, to dissolve that parliament, and call another of the Whig-stamp, by force of a prodigious expence, which would be neither decent nor safe, and, perhaps, at that time, hardly feasible: Or else, to turn the balance in the House of Lords; which, after the success of Lord Nottingham's vote, was not otherwise to be done, than by creating a

sufficient number of peers, in order, at once, to make the Queen and her people easy upon that article for the rest of her reign: And this I should be willing to think was the Treasurer's meaning, when he advised those advancements; which, however, I confess, I did very much dislike.

But if, after all I have said, my conjecture should happen to be wrong; yet I do not see how the Treasurer can justly be blamed for preserving his cause, his friends, and himself, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful: Perhaps, he was brought under that necessity by the want of proper management; but when that necessity appeared, he could not act otherwise, without unravelling whatever had been done; which, in the language of those times, would have been called, delivering the Queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction they had so lately got rid of. And, I believe, no minister of any party would, in his circumstances, have scrupled to make the same step, when the *summa rerum* was at stake.

Although the Queen was brought into this measure by no other motive than her earnest desire of a peace; yet the Treasurer's friends began to press him anew for further changes in employments; concluding, from what was past, that his credit was great enough to compass whatever he pleased. But this proved to be ill reasoning; for the Queen had no dislike at all to the other party, (whatever personal piques she might bear to some among them) further than as she conceived they were bent upon continuing the war, to which her Majesty resolved to put as speedy an end as she could with honour and safety to her kingdoms; and therefore fell, with readiness enough, into the methods proposed to her for advancing that great work. But, in dispensing her favours, she was extremely cautious and slow; and, after the usual mistake of those who think they have been often imposed on, became so very suspicious, that she overshot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a person happened to be recommended as useful for her service, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, she

she would consent; but, if the Treasurer offered, at the same time, a warrant, or other instrument, to her already prepared in order to be signed, because he presumed to reckon upon her consent beforehand, she would not; and thus the affair would sometimes lie for several months together, although the thing were ever so reasonable, or that even the public suffered by the delay. So that this minister had no other remedy but to let her Majesty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longest that the nature of the thing could suffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr. Secretary St. John, whose merits and pretensions, as things then stood, were far superior to any, was purposely left out, because the court had need of his great abilities, the following session, in the House of Commons; and the peace, being then upon the anvil, he was best able to explain and justify the several steps towards it; which he accordingly did with invincible reason and universal applause. When the session was over, the Queen thought fit to give him a title; and, that he might not lose his rank, created him Viscount. There had been an Earldom in his name and family, lately extinct; (though a Barony fell to a collateral branch in the person of an infant), and the Secretary, being of the same house, expected and desired the same degree. For he reasoned, that, making him a Viscount, would be but rigorous justice, and he hoped he might pretend to some mark of favour. But the Queen could not be prevailed with; because, to say the truth, he was not much, at that time, in her good graces; some women about the court having infused an opinion into her, that he was not so regular in his life as he ought to be. The Secretary laid the whole blame of this disappointment upon the Earl of Oxford, and freely told me, that he would never depend upon the Earl's friendship as long as he lived, nor have any further commerce with him, than what was necessary for carrying on the public service. And although I have good reason to be assured that the Treasurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himself and Lady

Masbam then protested to me, yet my Lord Bolingbroke thought the appearances were so strong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The divisions between these two great men began to split the court into parties; Harcourt, Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyle, Sir William Windham, and one or two more, adhered to the Secretary; the rest were either neutrals or inclined to the Treasurer, whether from policy or gratitude, although they all agreed to blame and lament his mysterious and procrastinating manner in acting; which the state of affairs, at that time, could very ill admit, and must have rendered the Earl of Oxford inexcusable, if the Queen's obstinate temper had not put him under the necessity of exerting those talents wherewith, it must be confessed, his nature was already too well provided.

This minister had stronger passions than the Secretary, but kept them under stricter government: My Lord Bolingbroke was of a nature frank and open; and, as men of great genius are superior to common rules, he seldom gave himself the trouble of disguising, or subduing his resentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of state, as the Earl was too reserved, so, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt of multiplying secrets; although the graver counsellors imputed this liberty of speech to vanity, or lightness. And, upon the whole, no two men could differ more in their diversions, their studies, their ways of transacting business, their choice of company, or manner of conversation.

The Queen, who was well informed of these animosities among her servants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cause, began to find, and lament the ill consequences of them in her affairs, both at home and abroad; and to lay the blame upon her Treasurer, whose greatest fault, in his whole ministry, was too much compliance with his Mistress, by which his measures were often disconcerted, and himself brought under suspicion by his friends.

I am

I am very confident, that this alteration in the Queen's temper, towards the Earl of Oxford, could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one step in politics which I have not been able to apprehend. When the Queen first thought of making a change among her servants, after Doctor Sacheverel's trial, my Lady Masham was very much heard and trusted upon that point, and it was by her intervention Mr. Harley was admitted into her Majesty's presence. That Lady was then in high favour with her Mistress, which, I believe, the Earl was not so very sedulous to cultivate or preserve, as if he had it much at heart, nor was altogether sorry, when he saw it under some degree of declination. The reasons for this must be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: But the juncture was not favourable for such a refinement, because it was early known to all, who had but looked into the court, that this Lady must have a successor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obstruct his proceedings. My Lady Masham was a person of a plain sound understanding, of great truth and sincerity, without the least mixture of falsehood or disguise; of an honest boldness and courage, superior to her sex; firm and disinterested in her friendship, and full of love, duty, and veneration for the Queen her Mistress: Talents as seldom found, or sought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while they are there: So that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the public, than a coldness between this lady and the first minister; nor a greater mistake in the latter, than to suffer, or connive, at the lessening of her credit, which he quickly saw removed very disadvantageously to another * object, and wanted the effects of, when his own was sunk in the only domestick affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the Queen's favour to the Earl was thus gradually lessening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider, which he looked upon with great indifference, and seemed to have his thoughts only turned upon find-

* The Duchess of Somerset.

ing out some proper opportunity for delivering up his staff: But this her Majesty would not then admit; because, indeed, it was not easy to determine who should succeed him.

In the midst of these dispositions at court, the Queen fell dangerously sick at Windsor, about Christmas 1713. It was confidently reported in town, that she was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were said to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the Earl of Wharton's house: Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expressions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding men of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A messenger was immediately dispatched, with an account of the Queen's illness, to the Treasurer, who was then in town; and, in order to stop the report of her death, appeared next day abroad, in his chariot, with a pair of horses, and did not go down to Windsor till his usual time. Upon his arrival there the danger was over, but not the fright, which still sat on every body's face, and the account given of the confusion, and distraction the whole court had been under, is hardly to be conceived: Upon which the Treasurer said to me, "Whenever any thing ails the Queen, these people are out of their wits; and yet, they are so thoughtless, that, as soon as she is well, they act as if she were immortal. I had sufficient reason, both before and since, to allow his observation to be true, and that some share of it might, with justice, be applied to himself.

The Queen had early notice of this behaviour among the discontented leaders, during her illness. It was, indeed, an affair of such a nature, as required no aggravation; which, however, would not have been wanting, the women of both parties, who then attended her Majesty, being well disposed to represent it in the strongest light. The result was, that the Queen immediately laid aside all her schemes and visions of reconciling the two opposite interests, and entered upon a firm resolution of adhering to the old English principles, from

an opinion that the adverse party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little consisting (as the language and opinion went then) with the safety of the constitution, either in church or state. She, therefore, determined to fall into all just and proper methods, that her ministers should advise her to, for the preservation and continuance of both. This I was quickly assured of, not only by the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Bolingbroke, but by the Treasurer himself.

I confess myself to have been then thoroughly persuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the ministers, by uniting them in pursuing one general interest; and, considering no farther than what was fittest to be done, I could not easily foresee any objections, or difficulties, that the Earl of Oxford would make; I had, for some time, endeavoured to cultivate the strictest friendship between him and the * General by telling both of them, (which happened to be the truth) how kindly they spoke of each other; and by convincing the latter of what advantage such an union must be to her Majesty's service. There was an affair upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horse and foot guards appointed to attend on the Queen's person, several officers took every occasion, with great freedom and bitterness of speech, to revile the ministry, upon the subject of the peace and the Pretender, not without many gross expressions against the Queen herself; such as, I suppose, will hardly be thought on or attempted, but certainly not suffered under the present powers. Which proceeding, besides the indignity, begot an opinion, that her Majesty's person might be better guarded than by such keepers, who, after attending at court, or at the levee of the General or first minister, adjourned, to publish their disaffection in coffee-houses and gaming-ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was proposed, that ten or a dozen of the least discreet among these gentlemen should be obliged to sell their posts in the guards; and that two or three, who had gone the greatest lengths, should have

* The Duke of Ormond.

a price fixed for their commissions, somewhat below the exorbitant rate usually demanded for a few years past. The Duke of Ormond desired but ten thousand pounds to make the matter easy to those officers who were to succeed, which sum, his Grace told me, the Treasurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded present want of money: And, I cannot but say, that, having often, at the Duke's desire, pressed this minister to advance the money, he gave me such answers as made me think he really intended it: But I was quickly undeceived; for, expostulating some days after with him upon the same subject, after great expressions of esteem and friendship for the Duke of Ormond, and mentioning some ill-treatment he had received from his friends, he said, he knew not why he should do other people's work. The truth is, that, except the Duke, my Lord Trevor, and Mr. Secretary Bromley, I could not find he had one friend left of any consequence in her Majesty's service. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Masham, openly declared against him; to whom were joined the Bishop of * Rochester and some others. Dartmouth, then Privy-seal, and Paulet, Lord Steward, stood neuters. The Duke of Shrewsbury hated the Treasurer, but sacrificed all resentments to ease, profit, and power; and was then in Ireland acting a part directly opposite to the Court, which he had sagacity enough to foresee might quickly turn to account; so that the Earl of Oxford stood almost single, and every day found a visible declension of the Queen's favour towards him; which he took but little care to redress, desiring nothing so much as leave to deliver up his staff. Which, however, as conjunctures then stood, he was not able to obtain; his adversaries not having determined where to place it: Neither was it upon several accounts, a work so proper to be done, while the parliament sate, where the ministry had already lost too much reputation, and especially in the House of Lords. By what I could gather from several discourses with the Treasurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reasoned with himself.

* Dr. Atterbury.

The Church-party continued violently bent to have some necessary removals made in the guards, as well as a further change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court, or in her Majesty's service, except the Duke of Shrewsbury and one or two more, were in the same opinion; the Queen herself, since her last illness at Windsor, had the like dispositions; and, I think, it may appear from several passages already mentioned, that the blame of those delays, so often complained of, did not originally lie at the Earl of Oxford's door. But the state of things was very much changed by several incidents: The Chancellor, Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Masham, had entirely forsaken him, upon suspicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on mistake, yet he would never be at the pains to clear; and, as he first lessened his confidence with the Queen, by pressing her upon those very points, for which his friends accused him that they were not performed; so, upon her change of sentiments, after her recovery, he lost all favour and credit with her, for not seconding those new resolutions from which she had formerly been so averse. Besides, he knew as well as all others who were near the court, that it was hardly possible the Queen could survive many months; in which case, he must of necessity bring upon him the odium and vengeance of the successor, and of that party which must then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done: Or, if her Majesty should hold out longer than it was reasonable to expect, yet, after having done a work that must procure him many new enemies, he could expect nothing but to be discharged in displeasure. Upon these reasons he continued his excuses to the Duke of Ormond, for not advancing the money; and, during the six last months of his ministry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the business of his office. That whole period was nothing else but a scene of murmuring and discontent, quarrel and misunderstanding, animosity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the mean-

time the Queen's countenance was wholly changed towards him; she complained of his silence and fullness; and, in return, gave him every day fresh instances of neglect or displeasure.

The original of this quarrel among the ministers, which had been attended with so many ill consequences, began first between the Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, from the causes and incidents I have already mentioned; and might, very probably, have been prevented, if the Treasurer had dealt with less reserve, or the Lord Bolingbroke had put that confidence in him which so sincere a friend might reasonably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconciliation have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends on both sides had not too much observed the common prudential forms of *not caring to intermeddle*; which, together with the addition of a shrug, was the constant answer I received from most of them, whenever I pressed them upon the subject. I cannot tell whether my Lord Trevor may be excepted, because I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative. Mr. Prior, who was much loved and esteemed by them both, as he well deserved, upon the account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private conversation, might have been the properest person for such a work, if he could have thought it to consist with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was absent in France at those junctures when it was chiefly necessary. And to say the truth, most persons had so avowedly declared themselves on one side or the other, that these two great men had hardly a common friend left except myself. I had ever been treated with great kindness by them both; and I conceived that what I wanted in weight and credit might be made up with sincerity and freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had constant experience of: I had managed between them for almost two years; and their candour was so great, that they had not the least jealousy or suspicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders, when, upon the Queen's being last at Windsor, I put them in a coach

to go thither by appointment without other company; where they would have four hours time to come to a good understanding; but, in two days after, I learned from them both that nothing was done.

There had been three bishoprics for some time vacant in Ireland, and I had prevailed on the Earl of Oxford, that one of them should be divided. Accordingly four divines of that kingdom were named to the Queen, and approved by her; but, upon some difficulties not worth mentioning, the Queen's mandatory letters to Ireland had been delayed: I pressed the Treasurer every week, while her Majesty was at Windsor, and every day after her return, to finish this affair, as a point of great consequence to the church in that kingdom; and, growing at length impatient of so many excuses, I fell into some passion, when his Lordship freely told me, that he had been earnest with the Queen, upon *that* matter, about ten times the last fortnight, but without effect; and that he found his credit wholly at an end. This happened about eleven weeks before the Queen died. And, two nights after, sitting with him and Lord Bolingbroke, in Lady Masham's lodgings at St. James's, for some hours; I told the Treasurer, that, having despaired of any reconciliation between them, I had only staid some time longer to forward the disposal of those bishopricks in Ireland, which since his Lordship told me was out of his power; I now resolved to retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither help to redress, nor endure the sight of: That, before I left them, I desired they would answer me two questions: First, Whether these mischiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? And, secondly, Whether, upon the present foot, the ministry would not be infallibly ruined in two months? Lord Bolingbroke answered to each question in the affirmative, and approved of my resolution to retire; but the Treasurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only desired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in Berkshire, to await the

issue, which ended in the removal of my Lord Treasurer, and, three days after, in her Majesty's death.

Thus I have, with some pains, recollected several passages, which I thought were most material for the satisfaction of those who appear so much at a loss upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late ministry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to see persons of great and undisputed abilities, called by the Queen to her service, in the place of others with whose proceedings she was disgusted, and with great satisfaction to the clergy, the landed interest, and body of the people, running, on a sudden, into such a common beaten court-track of ruin, by divisions among themselves; not only without a visible cause, but with the strongest appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the usual excuse of evil instruments, or cunning adversaries, to blow the coals of dissention; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cause of these misfortunes to the Queen, who, from the variety of hands she had employed, and reasonings she had heard since her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating schemes, which, as things then stood, were by no means reducible to practice; she had likewise a good share of that adherence to her own opinions, which is usually charged upon her sex. And, lastly, (as I before observed) having received some hints that she had formerly been too much governed, she grew very difficult to be advised.

The next in fault was the Treasurer, who, not being able to influence the Queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom seemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himself, from a known principle of state-prudence, that a first minister must always preserve the reputation of power: But I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politics, which, at some conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The Queen was by no means inclined to make many changes in employments; she was positive in her nature, and extremely given to delay. And surely these were no proper qualities for

a chief minister to personate towards his nearest friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promises. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preserving at the expence of bringing sincerity into question. I remember, upon a Saturday, when the ministers and one or two friends of the Treasurer constantly met to dine, at his house, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain Lord, who perpetually opposed the Queen's measures, was not dismissed from a great employment, which, besides other advantages, gave that Lord the power of chusing several members of parliament. The Treasurer evaded the matter with his usual answer, that this was whipping day: Upon which the Secretary Bolingbroke, turning to me, said, It was a strange thing that my Lord Oxford would not be so kind to his friends, and so just to his own innocence, as to vindicate himself where he had no blame; for, to his knowledge and the Chancellor's, (who was then also present) the Treasurer had frequently and earnestly moved the Queen upon that very point without effect: Whereupon, this Minister finding himself pressed so far, told the company, that he had at last prevailed with her Majesty, and the thing would be done in two days, which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as an instance of the Earl of Oxford's disposition to preserve some reputation of power in himself, and remove all blame from the Queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent case; but how far justifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the Treasurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himself: He had abundance of merit with them all, not only upon account of the public, the whole change of the ministry having been effected without any intervention of theirs, by him and Lady Masham; but, likewise, from the consequence of that change, whereby the greatest employments of the kingdom were divided among them, and therefore, in common justice as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings, rather than suspect him of imaginary ones, as they often

often did, through ignorance, refinement, or mistake: And I mention it to the honour of the Secretary Bolingbroke, as well as of the Treasurer, that having myself, upon many occasions, joined with the former in quarrelling with the Earl's conduct upon certain points, the Secretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether mistaken.

Lastly, I cannot excuse the remissness of those, whose business it should have been as it certainly was their interest, to have interposed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the ministers: But of this I have already spoken.

C H A P T E R II.

Written about a Year after.

HAVING proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unnecessary to say any thing upon the other head, relating to the design of bringing in the Pretender: For, upon the Earl of Oxford's impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing side assured me, that the whole mystery would be soon laid open to the world, and were ready to place the merit of their cause upon that issue: This discovery we all expected from the Report of the Secret Committee: But, when that treatise appeared, (whoever were the compilers) we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an absolute state-pamphlet, arguing for a cause, than a dry recital of facts, or a transcript of letters; and, for what related to the Pretender, the authors contented themselves with informing the public, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on in personal treaties between the Earl of Oxford and the Abbé Gaultier, which must needs be a doctrine hard of digestion to those who have the least knowledge either of the Earl or the Abbé, or upon what foot the latter stood at that time with the English ministry: I conceive that whoever is at distance enough to be

be out of fear either of a vote or a messenger, will be as easily brought to believe all the Popish legends together. And to make such an assertion, in a public report delivered to the House of Commons, without the least attempt to prove it, will some time or other be reckoned such a strain upon truth and probability as is hard to be equalled in a Spanish romance. I think it will be allowed, that the articles of high treason drawn up against the Earl were not altogether founded upon the report, or at least that those important hints about bringing in the Pretender were more proper materials to furnish out a pamphlet than an impeachment; since this accusation hath no part even among the high crimes and misdemeanors.

But, notwithstanding all this, and that the Earl of Oxford, after two years residence in the Tower, was at length dismissed without any trial; yet the reproach still went on, that the Queen's last ministry, in concert with their Mistress, were deeply engaged in a design to set the Pretender upon the throne. The cultivating of which accusation I impute to the great goodness of those in power, who are so gracious to assign a reason, or at least give a countenance for that sudden and universal sweep they thought fit to make on their first appearance; whereas they might as well have spared that ceremony, by a short recourse to the royal prerogative, which gives every prince a liberty of chusing what servants he will.

There are two points which I believe myself able to make out. First, that neither the late Queen nor her ministers did ever entertain a design of bringing in the Pretender during her Majesty's life, or that he should succeed after her decease.

Secondly, that if they conceived such a design, it was absolutely necessary to prosecute it from the first year of their ministry; because, for at least a year before the Queen's death, it was impossible to have put such a design in execution.

I must premise with three circumstances which have a great effect on me, and must have the like upon those among my friends

friends who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity, and it is only to those that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, discoursing at several times with some very eminent persons of the opposite side, with whom I had long acquaintance, I asked them seriously, whether they or any of their friends did in earnest believe, or suspect the Queen or the ministry to have any favourable regards towards the Pretender? They all confessed for themselves, that they believed nothing of the matter; and particularly a person, at present in great employment, said to me with much frankness, "You set up the Church and Sacheverel against us, and we set up Trade and the Pretender against you."

The second point I would observe is this, that, during the course of the late ministry, upon occasion of the libels every day thrown about, I had the curiosity to ask almost every person in great employment, whether they knew, or had heard, of any one particular man (except those who professed to be Nonjurors) that discovered the least inclination towards the Pretender; and the whole number they could muster up did not amount to above five or six, among which one was a certain old Lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman, of little consequence, and of a broken fortune: Yet I do not believe myself to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the Duke of Buckingham, in whose company I never was above once or twice at most: I am, therefore, as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonstration, that upon the Queen's death, if we except Papists and Nonjurors, there could not be five hundred persons in England, of all ranks, who had any thoughts of the Pretender, and among these, not six of any quality or consequence: But how it hath come to pass that several millions are said to have since changed their sentiments, it shall not be my part to enquire.

The last point is of the same strain, and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only those who are willing to believe me on my own word; that having been, for the space of almost four years,

years, very nearly and perpetually conversant with those who had the greatest share of power, and this, in their times of leisure as well as business, I could never hear one single word to be let fall in favour of the Pretender, although I was curious enough to observe, in a particular manner, what passed upon that subject. And I cannot but think, that, if such an affair had been in agitation, I must have had either very bad luck, or a very small share of common understanding, not to have discovered some grounds, at least, for suspicion. Because I never yet knew a minister of state, or indeed any other man, so great a master of secrecy, as to be able, among those he nearly conversed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his designs. This I say, upon a supposition that they would have held on the mask always before me, which, however, I have no reason to believe. And, I confess, it is with the expence of some patience that I hear this matter summarily determined by those who had no advantages of knowing any thing that passed, otherwise than what they found in a libel or a coffee-house; or, at best, from general reasonings built upon mistaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto said upon this point can have no influence further than my own personal credit reacheth; yet, I confess, I shall never be brought to change my opinion, till some one, who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any single particular from the letters, the discourses, or the actions of those ministers, as a proof of what they alledge, which hath not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be several arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident to those who will hear reason, that the Queen's ministers never had it in their thoughts to alter the succession of the crown.

For, first, when her Majesty had determined to change her servants, it is very well known that those, whom she appointed to succeed them, were generally accounted favourers of what is called the Low-church party, not only my Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt, but a great majority of the

rest: Among which I can immediately name the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Newcastle, and Argyle; the Earls of Peterborow, Rivers, Strafford, Ilay, and Orrery; the Lords Mansel, and Masham, with several others whom I cannot at present recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the Dukes of Ormond and Buckingham, and the Earl of Dartmouth, were the only persons introduced at first, and very few afterwards: Which, I suppose, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the Pretender was not the original scheme of such ministers, and that they were by no means proper instruments for such a work.

And whoever knew any thing of the Queen's disposition, must believe she had no inclinations at all in favour of the Pretender: She was highly and publicly displeased with my Lord Bolingbroke, because he was seen under the same roof with that person at an opera, when his Lordship was sent to France upon some difficulties about the peace: Her Majesty said, that he ought immediately to have withdrawn, upon the appearance of the other; wherein, to speak with freedom, I think her judgment was a little mistaken. And, at her toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the Chevalier, she would frequently let fall expressions of such a nature, that made it manifest how little she deserved those reproaches which have been cast on her since her death, upon that account:

Besides, I have already said that her Majesty began those changes at court for no other cause than her personal displeasure against a certain family, and their allies; and from the hope she had to obtain a peace, by the removal of some whose interest it was to obstruct it: That when the former Chancellor, President, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, she pressed them somewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their stations; of which, I suppose, my Lord Cowper is yet a living witness.

I am forced to repeat what I have before observed, that it was with the utmost difficulty she could be ever persuaded to dismiss any person upon the score of party, and that she drove
her

her ministers into the greatest distress, upon my Lord Nottingham's vote against any peace without Spain, for want of speaking to one or two depending Lords, although with the last danger of breaking the measures she was most fond of towards settling the repose of Europe. She had, besides, upon the removal of the Duchess of Marlborough, chosen another * great Lady to succeed, who quickly grew into higher credit than all her ministers together: A lady openly professing the utmost aversion from the persons, the principles, and measures of those who were then in power, and excelling all, even of her own sex, in every art of insinuation: And this her Majesty thought fit to do, in opposition to the strongest representations that could possibly be made to her, of the inconveniences which would ensue. Her only objection against several clergymen, recommended to her for promotions in the church, was their being too violent in party. And a Lady, in high favour with her, hath frequently assured me, that whenever she moved the Queen to discard some persons, who, upon all occasions, with great virulence, opposed the court; her Majesty would constantly refuse, and, at the same time, condemn her for too much party-zeal.

But, beside all this, there never was a more stale or antiquated cause than that of the Pretender, at the time when her Majesty chose her last ministers, who were most of them children or youths, when King James II. abdicated: They found a prince upon the throne, before they were of years to trouble themselves with speculations upon government; and, consequently, could have no scruples of conscience in submitting to the present powers, since they hardly remembered any other. And, truly, this was in general the case of the whole kingdom: For the adherents of King James II. were all either dead or in exile, or sunk in obscurity, laden with years and want; so that if any guilt were contracted by the Revolution, it was generally understood that our ancestors were only to answer for it. And I am confident, with an exception to

* Duchess of Somerset.

professed Nonjurors, there was not one man in ten thousand, through England, who had other sentiments. Nor can the contrary opinion be defended, by arguing the prodigious disaffection at present, because the same thing hath happened before from the same causes in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the same event.

But such a disaffection could hardly have been raised against an absent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and, indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very strong argument for the good disposition, both in the ministry and kingdom towards the House of Hanover, that, during my Lord Oxford's administration, there was never thrown out the least reflection against that illustrious House, in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened, if the small party-writers could have thought, that, by such a performance, they would have made their court to those in power; and which would certainly have been a very useful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended towards altering the succession to the crown. But, however, to say the truth, invectives against the absent, and with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render persons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious: For hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience hath shewn. And although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated than despised, yet that maxim is better calculated for an absolute monarchy than for the climate of England. But I am sensible this is a digression; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her Majesty with France and Spain, were calculated in several points directly against the Pretender, as he hath now found to his cost, and as it is manifest to all the world. Neither could any thing be more superficial than the politics of those who could be brought to think that the Regent of France would ever engage in measures against the present King of England, and how the grimace of an ambassador's taking or not taking his public character, as in the case of the Earl of Stairs, should serve so long for an amusement,

ment, cannot sufficiently be wondered at. What can be plainer than that the chief interest of the Duke of Orleans is woven and twisted with that of King George ; and this, Whether it shall be thought convenient to suffer the young King of France to live longer, or not? For, in the second case, the Regent perfectly agrees with our present King in this particular circumstance, that the whole order of succession hath been broken for his sake ; by which means he likewise will be encumbered with a Pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the strongest motives, to prevent the union of France and Spain under one monarch. And, even in the other case, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs-male of his body, is so dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the Regent, or his children, will certainly keep that prince, as long as his power continues, very firm in his alliance with England.

And, as this design was originally intended and avowed by the Queen's ministers, in their treaties with France and Spain, so the events have fully answered in every particular. The present King succeeded to these crowns with as hearty and universal a disposition of the people, as could possibly consist with the grief for the loss of so gracious and excellent a Princess as her late Majesty : The parliament was most unanimous in doing every thing that could endear them to a new Monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any design which France or Spain might probably have laid to make a diversion by an invasion upon Scotland, with the Pretender at the head, in case her Majesty had happened to die during the course of the war : And, upon the death of the late French King, the Duke of Orleans fell immediately into the strictest measures with England ; as the Queen and her ministers easily foresaw it would be necessary for him to do, from every reason that could regard his own interest. If the Queen had died but a short time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged against us had thought fit to have thrown some troops into Scotland, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumstance to a successor and
a stran-

a stranger, yet the universal inclinations at that time in England towards the house of Hanover, would, in all probability, have prevented the consequences of such an enterprize. But, on the other side, if the war had continued a year longer than her Majesty's life, and the same causes had been applied to produce the same effects upon the affections of the people, the issue must inevitably have been either a long and bloody civil war, or a sudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual, to fortify the present King's title, and secure his possession, than that very peace so much exploded by one party, and so justly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the present situation of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jest.

But if any articles of that peace were like to endanger the Protestant succession, how could it come to pass that the Dutch, who were guarantees of *that* succession and valued for zealous defenders of it, should be so ready with their offers to comply with every article, and this for no greater a reward than a share in the Asiento trade, which the opposers of peace represented to be only a trifle. That the fact is true I appeal to Monsieur de Buys, who, upon some difficulties the ministry were under by the Earl of Nottingham's vote against any peace while Spain continued in the Bourbon family, undertook to make that matter easy, by getting a full approbation from the States, his masters, of all her Majesty's proceedings, provided they might be sharers in that trade. I can add this further, that some months after the conclusion of the peace, and amidst all the appearing discontents of the Dutch, a gentleman who had long resided in Holland, and was occasionally employed by the ministers here, assured me that he had power from the Pensioner to treat with the Earl of Oxford, about sending hither an extraordinary embassy from Holland, to declare that the States were fully satisfied with the whole plan of the peace, upon certain conditions, which were easy and honourable, and such as had no relation at all to the Pretender. How this

this happened to fail, I never enquired, nor had any discourse about it with those in power. For then their affairs were growing desperate, by their quarrels among themselves, and by the Earl of Oxford's declination in the Queen's favour; both which became so public, as well as her Majesty's bad state of health, that, I suppose, those circumstances might easily cool the Dutch politicians in that pursuit.

I remember to have heard it objected against the late ministry, as an instance of their inclination towards the Pretender, that they were careless in cultivating a good correspondence with the House of Hanover. And, on the other side, I know very well what continual pains were employed to satisfy and inform the Elector and his ministers in every step taken by her Majesty, and what offers were made to his Highness for any further securities of the succession in him and his family, that could consist with the honour and safety of the Queen. To this purpose were all the instructions given to Earl Rivers, Mr. Thomas Harley, Lord Clarendon, and some others. But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a foolish circumstance, which hath often made me remember the common observation, of the greatest events depending frequently upon the lowest, vilest, and obscurest causes: And this is never more verified than in courts, and the issues of public affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and observation, three or four very surprizing instances. I have seen an old * bed-maker, by officiously going to one door when gratitude as well as common sense should have sent her to another, become the instrument of putting the nation to the expence of some thousand lives, and several millions of money. I have known as great an event from the stupidity, or wilfulness of a beggarly † Dutchman, who lingered on purpose half an hour at a visit, when he had promised to be somewhere else. Of no greater dignity was that circumstance, which rendered ineffectual all

* Mrs. Foillon, necessary-woman to the Queen, preferred to that employment by my Lady Masham.

† Carew Lord Hunsden, born and bred in Holland.

endeavours of the late ministry to establish themselves in the good graces of the court of Hanover, as I shall particularly relate in another work. It may suffice to hint at present, that a delay in conveying a very inconsiderable sum, to a very inconsiderable French * vagrant, gave the opportunity to a more industrious party, of corrupting that channel through which all the ideas of the dispositions and designs of the Queen, the ministers, and the whole British nation were conveyed.

The second point which I conceive myself able to make out, is this: That, if the Queen's ministers had, with or without the knowledge of their Mistress, entertained any thoughts of altering the succession in favour of the Pretender, it was absolutely necessary for them to have begun, and prosecuted that design, as soon as they came into her Majesty's service.

There were two circumstances which would have made it necessary for them to have lost no time. First, because it was a work that could not possibly be done on a sudden. For the whole nation, almost to a man, excepting professed Nonjurors, had conceived the utmost abhorrence of a Popish successor. And, as I have already observed, the scruple of conscience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated Nonjurors, who lay starving in obscurity. So that, in order to have brought such an affair about in a parliamentary way, some years must have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one person odious and another amiable; neither of which is to be soon compassed towards absent princes, unless by comparing them with those of whom we have had experience, which was not *then* the case.

The other circumstance was the bad condition of the Queen's health; her Majesty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout, with other disorders, increasing on her; so that whoever was near the court, for about the two last years of her reign, might boldly have fixed the period of her life to

* Robithan; then at Hanover, but in the service of some other German Prince, it is not known how, got into some credit with the Elector.

a very few months, without pretending to prophesy. And how little a time the ministers had for so great a work as that of changing the succession of the crown, and how difficult the very attempt would have been, may be judged from the umbrage taken by several Lords of the Church-party, in the last year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehension that the very quarrels among the ministers might possibly be of some disadvantage to the House of Hanover. And the universal declaration, both among Lords and Commons, at that time, as well in favour of the Elector as against the Pretender, are an argument beyond all conviction that some years must have been spent in altering the dispositions of the people. Upon this occasion, I shall not soon forget what a great minister then said to me, and which I have been since assured was likewise the Duke of Shrewsbury's opinion, That there could be no doubt of the Elector's undisturbed succession; but the chief difficulty lay in the future disaffection of the church, and people, and landed interest, from that universal change of men and measures, which he foresaw would arrive. And it must be, to all impartial men, above a thousand witnesses, how innocent her Majesty's servants were upon this article; that, knowing so well through what channels all favour was to pass upon the Queen's demise, that, by their coming into power, they had utterly, and for ever, broken all measures with the opposite party; and that, in the beginning of their administration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which some future circumstances would not have failed to cultivate; yet their actions shewed them so far from any view towards the Pretender, that they neglected pursuing those measures which they had constantly in their power, not only of securing themselves, but the interest of the church, without any violence to the Protestant succession in the person of the Elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only disgrace of their ministry. To prevent this evil was, I confess, the chief point wherein all my little politics terminated; and the methods were easy and obvious. But whoever

goes about to gain favour with a prince by a readiness to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not outbid by another party, however professing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party acting in opposition to the true interest of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be distinguished by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty for personal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge. Of which truth Greece and Rome, as well as many other states, will furnish plenty of examples. This reflection I could not well forbear, although it may be of little use further than to discover my own resentment. And yet, perhaps, that misfortune ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or courage.

I must here take notice of an accusation charged upon the late ministry, by the House of Commons, that they put a lie, or falsehood, into the Queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament. Mr. Thomas Harley was sent to the Elector of Hanover with instructions, to offer his Highness any further securities, for settling the succession in him and his family, that could consist with her Majesty's honour and safety. This gentleman writ a letter to the Secretary of State, a little before his return from Hanover, signifying in direct terms, that the Elector expressed himself satisfied in the Queen's proceedings, and desired to live in confidence with her. He writ to the same purpose to one of the under-secretaries, and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleased him, and what he desired might be as public as possible. Both these letters I have read; and the Queen, as she had reason to suppose, being sufficiently authorized by this notice from her minister, made mention of that information in a speech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr. Harley to have been charged with. From what hath since passed in the world, I should indeed be inclined to grant it might have been a compliment in his Highness, and perhaps understood to be so

by the Queen; but, without question, her Majesty had a fair excuse to take the Elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And if this be so, the imputation of falsehood must remain where these accusers of that excellent Princess's veracity will, I suppose, not profess (at least) an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, wherein, as I said, all my little politics terminated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the ministers were of the same opinion; and would have put it in practice, if it had pleased God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

I have already observed how well it was known at court what measures the Elector intended to follow, whenever his succession should take place; and what hands he would employ in the administration of his affairs. I have likewise mentioned some facts and reasons, which influenced and fixed his Highness in that determination, notwithstanding all possible endeavours to divert him from it. Now, if we consider the dispositions of England at that time, when almost the whole body of the clergy, a vast majority of the landed interest, and of the people in general, were of the Church-party; it must be granted that one or two acts, which might have passed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the successor to have procured a House of Commons of a different stamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the usual arts to gain parliaments can hardly be applied with success after the election, against a majority, at least, of three in four; because the trouble and expence would be too great, beside the loss of reputation. For, neither could such a number of members find their account in point of profit, nor would the crown be at so much charge and hazard merely for the sake of governing by a small party, against the bent and genius of the nation. And, as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been sufficiently provided for by the scheme intended. I suppose it need not be added, that the government of England cannot move a step

while the House of Commons continues to dislike proceedings, or persons employed, at least in an age where parliaments are grown so frequent, and are made so necessary: Whereas a minister is but the creature of a day; and a House of Lords hath been modelled in many reigns, by enlarging the number, as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will soon comprehend how easily the legislature, at that time, could have provided against the power and influence of a court, or ministry, in future elections, without the least injury to the succession, and even without the modern invention of perpetuating themselves; which, however, I must needs grant to be one of the most effectual, vigorous, and resolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under King Charles I. although it should be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I must again urge and repeat, that those who charge the Earl of Oxford, and the rest of that ministry, with a design of altering the succession of the crown in favour of the Pretender, will, perhaps, be at some difficulty to fix the time when that design was in agitation: For, if such an attempt had begun with their power, it is not easy to assign a reason why it did not succeed; because there were certain periods when her Majesty and her servants were extremely popular, and the House of Hanover not altogether so much, upon account of some behaviour and management in one or two of their ministers here, and some other circumstances that may better be passed over in silence: All which, however, had no other consequence than that of repeated messages of kindness, and assurances to the Elector: During the last two years of the Queen's life, her health was in such a condition, that it was wondered how she could hold out so long: And then, as I have already observed, it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprize which required so much time, and which the ministers themselves had rendered impracticable, by the whole course of their former proceedings,

as well as by the continuance and heightening of those diffen-
tions which had early risen among them.

The party now in power will easily agree that this design of overthrowing the succession could not be owing to any principle of conscience in those whom they accuse; for they knew very well, by their own experience and observation, that such kind of scruples have given but small disturbance of late years in these kingdoms. Since interest is therefore the only test by which we are to judge the intentions of those who manage public affairs, it would have been but reasonable to have shewn how the interest of the Queen's ministers could be advanced by introducing the Pretender, before they were charged with such an intention. Her Majesty was several years younger than her intended successor, and, at the beginning of that ministry had no disorders, except the gout, which is not usually reckoned a shortner of life; and those in chief trust were, generally speaking, older than their Mistresses: So that no persons had ever a fairer prospect of running on the natural life of an English ministry; considering, likewise, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time, in their favour. And it will be hard to find an instance in history of a set of men, in full possession of power, so sanguine as to form an enterprize of overthrowing the government, without the visible prospect of a general defection, which (then at least) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a ministry in such circumstances durst engage in so dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their sovereign. And as to the persons then in service, if they may be allowed to have common sense, they would much sooner have surrendered their employments than hazard the loss of their heads at so great odds, before they had tried or changed the disposition of the parliament; which is an *accusation*, that, I think, none of their libellers have charged upon them, at least till towards the end of their ministry, and then very absurdly, because the want of time, and and other circumstances, rendered such a work impossible, for several reasons which I have already related.

And

And whoever considers the late Queen, so little enterprising in her nature, so much given to delay, and at the same time so obstinate in her opinions, (as *restiness* is commonly attended with slowness) so great a pursuer of peace and quiet, and so exempt from the two powerful passions of love and hatred; will hardly think she had a spirit turned for such an undertaking; if we add to this, the contempt she often expressed for the person and concerns of the Chevalier, her brother, of which I have already said enough to be understood. It hath been objected against the late Queen and her servants, as a mark of no favourable disposition towards the House of Hanover, that the Electoral Prince was not invited to reside in England: And, at the same time, it ought to be observed that this objection was raised and spread by the leaders of that party, who first opposed the counsel of inviting him, offering, among other arguments against it, the example of Queen Elizabeth, who would not so much as suffer her successor to be declared, expressing herself, that she *would* not live with her grave-stone always in her sight; although the case be by no means parallel between the two queens. For, in her late Majesty's reign, the crown was as firmly settled on the Hanover Family as the legislature could do it: And the question was only, whether the presumptive heir, of distant kindred, should keep his court in the same kingdom and metropolis with the Sovereign, while the nation was torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction, which her Majesty and the body of her people utterly disapproved: And, therefore, the leaders on both sides, when they were in power, did positively determine this question in the negative. And, if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reasons were cogent enough; since differences may happen to arise between two princes the most nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed, that, where the duty to a parent is added to the allegiance of a subject, the consequence of family-dissentions may not always be considerable.

For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the ministers; and did afterwards offer many reasons for it in a discourse intended

tended for the public, (but stopped by the Queen's death) that the young grandson (whose name I cannot remember) should be invited over to be educated in England; by which, I conceived, the Queen might be secure from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the succession in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of English manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true constitution of church and state. And this was the judgment of those at the helm before I offered it: Neither were they or their Mistresses to be blamed, that such a resolution was not pursued. Perhaps, from what hath since happened, the reader will be able to satisfy himself.

I have now said all I could think convenient (considering the time wherein I am writing) upon these two points, which I proposed to discourse on; wherein I have dealt with the utmost impartiality, and, I think, upon the fairest supposition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their interests and their passions: For I am not so weak as to think one ministry more virtuous than another, unless by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the prince; which last, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little use, when factions are violent. But it so falls out, that, among contending parties in England, the general interest of church and state is more the private interest of one side than the other; so that, whoever professeth to act upon a principle of observing the laws of his country, may have a safe rule to follow, by discovering whose particular advantage it chiefly is, that the constitution should be preserved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly speaking, be above two parties in such a government as ours; and one side will find themselves obliged to take in all the subaltern denominations of those who dislike the present establishment, in order to make themselves a balance against the other; and such a party, composed of mixed bodies, although
they

they differ widely in the several fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true public interest; yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an ignorant, unactive, or ill-designing prince, will probably, by the assistance of time or force, become the majority, unless they be prevented by a steadiness, which there is little reason to hope, or by some revolution, which there is much more reason to fear. For abuses in administration may last much longer than politicians seem to be aware of; especially where some bold steps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legislature: In which case, as it may happen in some states, the whole body of the people are drawn in, by their own supposed consent, to be their own enslavers; and, where will they find a thread to wind themselves out of this labyrinth? Or, will they not rather wish to be governed by arbitrary power, after the manner of other nations? For whoever considers the course of the Roman Empire after Cæsar's usurpation, the long continuance of the Turkish government, or the destruction of the Gothic balance in most kingdoms of Europe, will easily see how controllable that maxim is, that, *res nolunt diu malè administrari*: Because, as corruptions are more natural to mankind than perfections, so they are more likely to have a longer continuance. For the vices of men, considered as individuals, are exactly the same when they are molded into bodies; nor otherwise to be withheld in their effects, than by good fundamental laws; in which, when any great breaches are made, the consequence will be the same as in the life of a particular man, whose vices are seldom known to end but with himself.

T H E
A D D R E S S
O F T H E
H O U S E o f L O R D S t o t h e Q U E E N.

[Drawn up by Dr. SWIFT, at the Command of the LORD
TREASURER, and delivered by the DUKE of GRAFTON.]

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament assembled, do, with the greatest joy and satisfaction, return our humble thanks to your Majesty for your most gracious speech from the throne, and for communicating to this House that peace is agreed on, so honourable to your Majesty, and safe and advantageous to your kingdoms; by which we hope, with the blessing of God, that your people will, in a few years, recover themselves, after so long and expensive a war. We likewise beg leave to congratulate with your Majesty upon the success of your endeavours for a general peace; whereby the tranquillity and welfare of Europe will be owing (next to the Divine Providence) to your your Majesty's wisdom and goodness. We never had the least doubt but that your Majesty, who is the greatest ornament and protector of the Protestant Religion, would do every thing for securing the Protestant Succession; towards which nothing can be more necessary than the perfect harmony there is between your Majesty and the House of Hanover. And we do humbly assure your Majesty, that, as you are pleased to express your dependence (next under God) upon the duty and affection of your people; we think ourselves bound, by the greatest ties of religion, loyalty, and gratitude, to make all returns that can be due, from the most obedient subjects, to the most indulgent Sovereign.

A N
A N E C D O T E
RELATIVE TO THE
P E A C E OF U T R E C H T.

ONE Dr. Helvetius was sent from Paris, by Torcy, to Devenwordt at the Hague, with the first propofals for a peace separate with Holland; a year after which the preliminaries, at Gertrudenberg, were tranfacted by the Mar. D'Uxelles and Polignac, and afterwards Menager was privately difpatched to the fame effect.

My Lord Strafford had the first intimation of thefe feperate tranfactions of France and Holland, from the Duke of Marlborough, (as a thing a good while before in agitation) and afterwards from Devenwordt himfelf, who told him that he fent to Paris for Dr. Helvetius to cure him of a rheumatifm, which opportunity Torcy took to negotiate by him.

Helvetius fince confirmed the fame ftory to my Lord Strafford, in the year 1720.



C O P Y

Dr. SWIFT'S MEMORIAL to the QUEEN.

APRIL 15, 1714.

THE change of ministry about four years ago, the fall of the Duke of Marlborough, and the proceedings since, in relation to the peace and treaties, are all capable of being very maliciously represented to posterity, if they should fall under the pen of some writer of the opposite party, as they probably may.

Upon these reasons, it is necessary, for the honour of the Queen and in justice to her servants, that some able hand should be immediately employed to write the history of her Majesty's reign; that the truth of things may be transmitted to future ages, and bear down the falsehood of malicious pens.

The Dean of St. Patrick's is ready to undertake this work, humbly desiring her Majesty will please to appoint him her historiographer, not from any view of the profit, (which is so inconsiderable that it will hardly serve to pay the expence of searching offices) but from an earnest desire to serve his Queen and country; for which that employment will qualify him, by an opportunity of access to those places where papers and records are kept, which will be necessary to any who undertake such an history.

S O M E
C O N S I D E R A T I O N S
U P O N T H E
C O N S E Q U E N C E S H O P E D and F E A R E D
F R O M T H E
D E A T H of the Q U E E N.

AUG. 9, 1714.

IN order to set in a clear light what I have to say upon this subject, it will be convenient to examine the state of the nation with reference to the two contending parties; this cannot well be done without some little retrospection into the five last years of her late Majesty's reign.

I have it from unquestionable authority, that the Dukes of Marlborough's favour began to decline very soon after the Queen's accession to the throne, and that the Earl of Godolphin's held not much above two years longer; although her Majesty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power until a long time after.

The Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin having fallen early into the interests of the lower party, for certain reasons not seasonable here to be mentioned, (but which may deserve a place in the history of that reign) they made large steps that way upon the death of the Prince of Denmark, taking in several among the warmest leaders of that side, into the chief employments of the state. Mr. Harley, then secretary of state, who disliked their proceedings, and had very near overthrown their whole scheme, was removed with the utmost indignation, and about the same time, Sir Simon Harcourt

Harcourt and Mr. St. John, with some others, voluntarily gave up their employments.

But the Queen, who had then a great esteem for the person and abilities of Mr. Harley (and in proportion of the other two, although at that time not equally known to her), was deprived of his service with some regret, and upon that and other motives well known at court, began to think herself hardly used, and several stories ran about, whether true or false, that her Majesty was not always treated with that duty she might expect. Mean-time the church-party were loud in their complaints, surmising, from the virulence of several pamphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought into parliament, from endeavours to repeal the sacramental-test, from the avowed principles, and free speeches of some persons in power, and other jealousies needless to repeat, that ill-designs were forming against the religion established.

These fears were all confirmed by the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, which drew the populace, as one man, into the party against the ministry and parliament.

The ministry were very suspicious, that the Queen had still a reserve of favour for Mr. Harley, which appeared by a passage that happened some days after his removal: For, the Earl of Godolphin's coach and his happening to meet near Kensington, the Earl a few hours after reproached the Queen, that she privately admitted Mr. Harley, and was not without some difficulty undeceived by her Majesty's asseverations to the contrary.

Soon after the Doctor's trial, this gentleman, by the Queen's command and the intervention of Mrs. Masham, was brought up the back-stairs; and that Princess, spirited by the addresses from all parts, which shewed the inclinations of her subjects to be very averse from the proceedings in court and parliament, was resolved to break the united power of the Marlborough and Godolphin families, and to begin this work, by taking the disposal of employments into her own hands: for which an opportunity happened by the death of the Earl of Essex, lieutenant of the tower, whose employment was given to the Earl

Rivers,

Rivers, to the great discontent of the Duke of Marlborough, who intended it for the Duke of Northumberland, then colonel of the Oxford regiment, to which the Earl of Hartford was to succeed. Some time after, the chamberlain's staff was disposed of to the Duke of Shrewsbury in the absence, and without the privity of the Earl of Godolphin. The Earl of Sunderland's removal followed, and lastly that of the High Treasurer himself, whose office was put into commission, whereof Mr. Harley (made at the same time chancellor of the exchequer) was one. I need say nothing of other removals, which are well enough known and remembered: let it suffice that, in eight or nine months time, the whole face of the court was altered, and very few friends of the former ministry left in any great stations there.

I have good reasons to be assured, that when the Queen began this change, she had no intentions to carry it so far as the church-party expected, and have since been so impatient to see. For, although she were a true professor of the religion established, yet the first motives to this alteration did not arise from any dangers she apprehended to that or the government; but from a desire to get out of the dominion of some, who she thought had kept her too much and too long in pupilage. She was in her own nature extremely dilatory and timorous; yet, upon some occasions, positive to a great degree. And when she had got rid of those who had, as she thought, given her the most uneasiness, she was inclined to stop, and entertain a fancy of acting upon a moderating scheme, from whence it was very difficult to remove her. At the same time I must confess my belief, that this imagination was put into her head, and made use of as an encouragement to begin that work, after which her advisers might think it easier to prevail with her to go as far as they thought fit. That these were her Majesty's dispositions in that conjuncture, may be confirmed by many instances. In the very height of the change, she appeared very loth to part with two great officers of state of the other party.

ty; and some, whose absence the new ministers most earnestly wished, held in for above two years after.

Mr. Harley, who acted as first minister before he had the staff, as he was a lover of gentle measures, and inclined to procrastination, so he could not, with any decency, press the Queen too much against her nature; because it would be like running upon the rock where his predecessors had split. But, violent humours running both in the kingdom and the new parliament, against the principles and persons of the low-church party, gave this minister a very difficult part to play. The warm members in both houses, especially among the commons, pressed for a thorough change, and so did almost all the Queen's new servants, especially after Mr. Harley was made an earl and high treasurer. He could not in good policy own his want of power, nor sling the blame upon his mistress. And, as too much secrecy was one of his faults, he would often, upon these occasions, keep his nearest friends in the dark. The truth is, he had likewise other views, which were better suited to the maxims of state in general, than to that situation of affairs. By leaving many employments in the hands of the discontented party, he fell in with the Queen's humour, he hoped to acquire the reputation of lenity, and kept a great number of expectants in order, who had liberty to hope, while any thing remained undisposed of. He seemed also to think, as other ministers have done, that since factions are necessary in such a government as ours, it would be prudent not altogether to lay the present one prostrate, lest another more plausible, and therefore not so easy to grapple with, might arise in its stead.

However, it is certain that a great part of the load he bore was unjustly laid on him. He had no favourites among the Whig-party, whom he kept in upon the score of old friendship or acquaintance; and he was a greater object of their hatred than all the rest of the ministry together.

A
S E R M O N
UPON THE
MARTYRDOM of K. CHARLES I.

Preached at St. Patrick's, Dublin, Jan. 30, 1725-6, being
Sunday.

GENESIS xlix. 5, 6, 7.

SIMEON and LEVI are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.

O my soul, come not thou into their secret, unto their assembly mine honour be not thou united; for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall.

Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in JACOB, and scatter them in ISRAEL.

I KNOW very well, that the church hath been often censured for keeping holy this day of humiliation, in memory of that excellent King and blessed Martyr CHARLES I. who rather chose to die on a scaffold than betray the religion and liberties of his people, wherewith God and the laws had entrusted him. But, at the same time, it is manifest that those who make such censures are either people without any religion at all, or who derive their principles, and perhaps their birth, from the abettors of those who contrived the murder of that Prince, and have not yet shewn the world that their opinions are changed. It is alleged that the observation of this day hath served to continue and encrease the animosity and enmity among

among our country-men, and to disunite Protestants; that a law was made, upon the Restoration of the Martyr's son, for a general pardon and oblivion, forbidding all reproaches upon that occasion; and, since none are now alive who were actors or instruments in that tragedy, it is thought hard and uncharitable to keep up the memory of it for all generations. Now, because I conceive most of you to be ignorant in many particulars concerning that horrid murder, and the rebellion which preceded it; I will,

First, relate to you so much of the story as may be sufficient for your information:

Secondly, I will tell you the consequences which this bloody deed had upon these kingdoms:

And, lastly, I will shew you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

As to the first, In the reign of this Prince, Charles the Martyr, the power and prerogative of the king were much greater than they are in our times, and so had been for at least 700 years before: And the best princes we ever had carried their power much farther than the blessed Martyr offered to do in the most blameable part of his reign. But, the lands of the crown having been prodigally bestowed to favourites, in the preceding reigns, the succeeding kings could not support themselves without taxes raised by parliament; which put them under a necessity of frequently calling those assemblies: And, the crown-lands being gotten into the hands of the nobility and gentry, beside the possessions of which the church had been robbed by Henry VIII.; power, which always follows property, grew to lean to the side of the people, by whom even the just rights of the crown were often disputed.

But further: Upon the cruel persecution raised against the Protestants, under Queen Mary, among great numbers who fled the kingdom to seek for shelter, several went and resided at Geneva, which is a commonwealth governed without a king, and where the religion, contrived by Calvin, is without the order of bishops. When the Protestant faith was restored by

Queen Elizabeth, those who fled to Geneva returned among the rest home to England, and were grown so fond of the government and religion of the place they had left, that they used all possible endeavours to introduce both into their own country; at the same time continually preaching and railing against ceremonies and distinct habits of the clergy, taxing whatever they disliked, as a remnant of Popery, and continued extremely troublesome to the church and state, under that great Queen, as well as her successor King James I. These people called themselves *Puritans*, as pretending to a purer faith than those of the church established. And these were the founders of our dissenters. They did not think it sufficient to leave all the errors of Popery, but threw off many laudable and edifying institutions of the Primitive Church, and, at last, even the government of bishops; which, having been ordained by the apostles themselves, had continued without interruption, in all Christian churches, for above 1500 years. And all this they did, not because those things were evil, but because they were kept by the Papists. From thence they proceeded, by degrees, to quarrel with the kingly government; because, as I have already said, the city of Geneva, to which their fathers had flown for refuge, was a commonwealth, or government of the people.

These Puritans, about the middle of the Martyr's reign, were grown to be a considerable faction in the kingdom, and in the Lower House of parliament. They filled the public with the most false and bitter libels against the bishops and clergy, accusing chiefly the very best among them of Popery; and, at the same time, the House of Commons grew so insolent and uneasy to the King, that they refused to furnish him with necessary supplies for the support of his family, unless upon such conditions as he could not submit to without forfeiting his conscience and honour, and even his coronation-oath. And, in such an extremity, he was forced upon a practice, no way justifiable, of raising money; for which, however, he had the
opinion

opinion of the judges on his side: For, wicked judges there were in those times as well as in ours. There were likewise many complaints, and sometimes justly, made against the proceedings of a certain court, called the Star-chamber, a judicature of great antiquity, but had suffered some corruptions, for which, however, the King was no way answerable. I cannot recollect any more subjects of complaint with the least ground of reason, nor is it needful to recollect them, because this gracious King did, upon the first application, redress all grievances by an act of parliament, and put it out of his power to do any hardships for the future. But, that wicked faction in the House of Commons, not content with all those marks of his justice and condescension, urged still for more; and, joining with a factious party from Scotland, who had the same fancies in religion, forced him to pass an act for cutting off the head of his best and chief minister; and, at the same time, compelled him, by tumults and threatenings of a packt rabble, poisoned with the same doctrines, to pass another law, by which it should not be in his power to dissolve that parliament without their own consent. Thus, by the greatest weakness and infatuation that ever possessed any man's spirit, this Prince did in effect sign his own destruction. For the House of Commons, having the reins in their own hands, drove on furiously; sent him every day some unreasonable demand, and, when he refused to grant it, made use of their own power, and declared that an ordinance of both Houses, without the King's consent, should be obeyed as a law, contrary to all reason and equity, as well as to the fundamental constitution of the kingdom.

About this time the rebellion in Ireland broke out, wherein his parliament refused to assist him; nor would accept his offer to come hither in person to subdue those rebels. These, and a thousand other barbarities, forced the King to summon his loyal subjects to his standard in his own defence. Meanwhile the English parliament, instead of helping the poor Protestants here, seized on the very army that his Majesty was

sending over for our relief, and turned them against their own Sovereign. The rebellion in England continued for four or five years: At last the King was forced to fly in disguise to the Scots, who sold him to the rebels. And these Puritans had the impudent cruelty to try his sacred person in a mock court of justice, and cut off his head; which he might have saved, if he would have yielded to betray the constitution in church and state.

In this whole proceeding Simeon and Levi were brethren, the wicked insinuations of those fanatical preachers stirring up the cruelty of the soldiers, who, by force of arms, excluded from the House every member of parliament, whom they apprehended to bear the least inclination towards an agreement with the King, suffering only those to enter who thirsted chiefly for his blood; and this the very account given by their own writers. From whence it is clear that this Prince was, in all respects, a real martyr for the true religion and the liberty of his people. That odious parliament had first turned the bishops out of the House of Lords; in a few years after, they murdered their King; then immediately abolished the whole House of Lords; and so, at last, obtained their wishes, of having a government of the people, and a new religion, both after the manner of Geneva, without a king, a bishop, or a nobleman; and this they blasphemously called the kingdom of Christ and his saints.

This is enough for your information on the first head: I shall therefore proceed to the second, wherein I will shew you the miserable consequences which that abominable rebellion and murder produced in these nations.

First, the Irish rebellion was wholly owing to that wicked English parliament. For the leaders in the Irish Popish massacre would never have dared to stir a finger, if they had not been encouraged by that rebellious spirit in the English House of Commons, which they very well knew must disable the King from sending any supplies to his Protestant subjects here; and, therefore, we may truly say that the English parliament held

held the King's hands, while the Irish Papists here were cutting our grandfathers throats.

Secondly, That murderous Puritan-parliament, when they had all in their own power, could not agree upon any one method of settling a form either of religion or civil government, but changed every day from schism to schism, from heresy to heresy, and from one faction to another. From whence arose that wild confusion still continuing in our several ways of serving God, and those absurd notions of civil power, which have so often torn us with factions more than any other nation in Europe.

Thirdly, To this rebellion and murder have been owing the rise and progress of Atheism among us. For, men observing what numberless villanies of all kinds were committed during twenty years, under pretence of zeal and the reformation of God's church, were easily tempted to doubt that all religion was a mere imposture: And the same spirit of infidelity so far spread among us at this present, is nothing but the fruit of the seeds sown by those rebellious hypocritical saints.

Fourthly, The old virtue and loyalty, and generous spirit of the English nation, were wholly corrupted by the power, the doctrine, and the example of those wicked people. Many of the antient nobility were killed, and their families extinct, in defence of their Prince and country, or murdered by the merciless courts of justice. Some of the worst among them favoured, or complied with the reigning iniquities, and not a few of the new set created, when the Martyr's son was restored, were such who had drank too deep of the bad principles then prevailing.

Fifthly, The children of the murdered Prince were forced to fly, for the safety of their lives, to foreign countries; where one of them, at least, I mean King James II. was seduced to Popery; which ended in the loss of his kingdoms, the misery and desolation of this country, and a long and expensive war abroad. Our deliverance was owing to the valour and conduct of the late King; and, therefore, we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blasphemy or idolatry. It was
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happy that his interests and ours were the same: And God gave him greater success than our sins deserved. But, as a house thrown down by a storm is seldom rebuilt, without some change in the foundation; so it hath happened, that, since the late Revolution, men have sate much looser in the true fundamentals both of religion and government, and factions have been more violent, treacherous, and malicious than ever, men running naturally from one extreme into another; and, for private ends, taking up those very opinions professed by the leaders in that rebellion, which carried the blessed Martyr to the scaffold.

Sixthly, Another consequence of this horrid rebellion and murder was the destroying or defacing such vast numbers of God's houses. *In their self-will they digged down a wall.* If a stranger should now travel in England, and observe the churches in his way, he could not otherwise conclude, than that some vast army of Turks or Heathens had been sent on purpose to ruin and blot out all marks of Christianity. They spared neither the statues of saints, or antient prelates, or kings, or benefactors; broke down the tombs and monuments of men famous in their generations, seized the vessels of silver set apart for the holiest use, tore down the most innocent ornaments both within and without, made the houses of prayer dens of thieves, or stables for cattle. These were the mildest effects of Puritan-zeal, and devotion for Christ; and this was what themselves affected to call a thorough reformation. In this kingdom those ravages were not so easily seen; for the people here being too poor to raise such noble temples, the mean ones we had, were not defaced, but totally destroyed.

Upon the whole, it is certain, that although God might have found out many other ways to have punished a sinful people, without permitting this rebellion and murder, yet as the course of the world hath run ever since, we need seek for no other causes, of all the public evils we have hitherto suffered, or may suffer for the future, by the misconduct of princes, or wickedness of the people.

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I go on now upon the third head, to shew you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

First, It may be an instruction to princes themselves, to be careful in the choice of those who are their advisers in matters of law. All the judges of England, except one or two, advised the King, that he might legally raise money upon the subjects for building of ships, without consent of parliament; which, as it was the greatest oversight of his reign, so it proved the principal foundation of all his misfortunes. Princes may likewise learn from hence, not to sacrifice a faithful servant to the rage of a faction, nor to trust any body of men with a greater share of power than the laws of the land have appointed them, much less to deposite it in their hands until they shall please to restore it.

Secondly, By bringing to mind the tragedy of this day, and the consequences that have arisen from it, we shall be convinced how necessary it is for those in power to curb, in season, all such unruly spirits as desire to introduce new doctrines and discipline in the church, or new forms of government in the state. Those wicked Puritans began, in Queen Elizabeth's time, to quarrel only with surplices and other habits, with the ring in matrimony, the cross in baptism, and the like; thence they went on to further matters of higher importance, and, at last, they must needs have the whole government of the church dissolved. This great work they compassed, first, by depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament, then they abolished the whole order; and, at last, which was their original design, they seized on all the church-lands, and divided the spoil among themselves; and, like Jeroboam, made priests of the very dregs of the people. This was their way of reforming the church. As to the civil government, you have already heard how they modelled it upon the murder of their King, and discarding the nobility. Yet, clearly to shew what a Babel they had built, after twelve years trial and twenty several sorts of government; the nation, grown weary of their tyranny, was forced to call in the son of him whom those reformers had sacrificed. And thus

thus were Simeon and Levi divided in Jacob and scattered in Israel.

Thirdly, Although the successors of those Puritans, I mean our present dissenters, do not think fit to observe this day of humiliation; yet, since it would be very proper in them, upon some occasions, to renounce in a public manner those principles upon which their predecessors acted; and it will be more prudent in them to do so, because those very Puritans, of whom ours are followers, found by experience, that, after they had overturned the church and state, murdered their King, and were projecting what they called a kingdom of the saints, they were cheated of the power and possessions they only panted after, by an upstart sect of religion that grew out of their own bowels, who subjected them to one tyrant, while they were endeavouring to set up a thousand.

Fourthly, Those who profess to be followers of our church established, and yet presume in discourse to justify or excuse that rebellion, and murder of the King, ought to consider, how utterly contrary all such opinions are to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, as well as to the articles of our church, and to the preaching and practice of its true professors for above an hundred years. Of late times, indeed, and I speak it with grief of heart, we have heard even sermons of a strange nature; although reason would make one think it a very unaccountable way of procuring favour under a monarchy, by palliating and lessening the guilt of those who murdered the best of Kings in cold blood, and, for a time, destroyed the very monarchy itself. Pray God we may never more hear such doctrine from the pulpit, nor have it scattered about in print, to poison the people.

Fifthly, Some general knowledge of this horrid rebellion and murder, with the consequences they had upon these nations, may be a warning to our people not to believe a lie, and to mistrust those deluding spirits, who, under pretence of a purer and more reformed religion, would lead them from their duty to God and the laws. Politicians may say what they please, but

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it is no hard thing at all for the meanest person, who hath common understanding, to know whether he be well or ill governed. If he be freely allowed to follow his trade and calling; if he be secure in his property, and hath the benefit of the law to defend himself against injustice and oppression: If his religion be different from that of his country, and the government think fit to tolerate it, (which he may be very secure of, let it be what it will;) he ought to be fully satisfied, and give no offence, by writing or discourse, to the worship established, as the dissenting preachers are too apt to do. But, if he hath any new visions of his own, it is his duty to be quiet and possess them in silence, without disturbing the community by a furious zeal for making proselytes. This was the folly and madness of those antient Puritan fanatics: They must needs overturn heaven and earth, violate all the laws of God and man, make their country a field of blood, to propagate whatever wild or wicked opinions came into their heads, declaring all their absurdities and blasphemies to proceed from the Holy Ghost.

To conclude this head. In answer to that objection of keeping up animosity and hatred between Protestants, by the observation of this day; if there be any sect, or sort of people among us, who profess the same principles in religion and government which those Puritan rebels put in practice; I think it is the interest of all those who love the church and king, to keep up as strong a party against them as possible, until they shall, in a body, renounce all those wicked opinions upon which their predecessors acted, to the disgrace of Christianity, and the perpetual infamy of the English nation.

When we accuse the Papists of the horrid doctrine, that no faith ought to be kept with Heretics, they deny it to a man; and yet we justly think it dangerous to trust them, because we know their actions have been sometimes suitable to that opinion: But the followers of those who beheaded the Martyr have not yet renounced their principles; and, till they do, they may be justly suspected: Neither will the bare name of Protestants set them right. For, surely, Christ requires more from us than

a profession of hating Popery, which a Turk or an Atheist may do as well as a Protestant.

If an enslaved people should recover their liberty, from a tyrannical power of any sort, who could blame them for commemorating their deliverance by a day of joy and thanksgiving? And doth not the destruction of a church, a king, and three kingdoms, by the artifices, hypocrisy, and cruelty of a wicked race of foldiers and preachers, and other sons of Belial, equally require a solemn time of humiliation? especially since the consequences of that bloody scene still continue, as I have already shewn, in their effects upon us.

Thus I have done with the three heads I proposed to discourse on. But, before I conclude, I must give a caution to those who hear me, that they may not think I am pleading for absolute unlimited power in any one man. It is true, all power is from God, and, as the apostle says, *The powers that be are ordained of God*; but this is in the same sense, that all we have is from God, our food and raiment, and whatever possession we hold by lawful means. Nothing can be meant in those, or any other words of Scripture, to justify tyrannical power, or the savage cruelties of those Heathen emperors who lived in the time of the apostles: And so St. Paul concludes, *The powers that be are ordained of God*: For what? Why, *for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise, the reward of them that do well*. There is no more inward value in the greatest emperor, than in the meanest of his subjects: His body is composed of the same substance, the same parts, and with the same or greater infirmities: His education is generally worse, by flattery, and idleness, and luxury, and those evil dispositions that early power is apt to give. It is therefore against common sense, that his private personal interest, or pleasure, should be put in the balance with the safety of millions, every one of which is his equal by nature, equal in the sight of God, equally capable of salvation; and it is for their sakes, not his own, that he is entrusted with the government over them. He hath as high trust as can safely be reposed in one man, and, if he discharge it as he ought, he deserves all the honour and duty that a mortal may be allowed to receive.

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His personal failings we have nothing to do with, and errors in government are to be imputed to his ministers in the state. To what height those errors may be suffered to proceed, is not the business of this day, or this place, or of my function, to determine. When oppressions grow too great and universal to be borne, nature or necessity may find a remedy. But, if a private person reasonably expects pardon, upon his amendment, for all faults that are not capital, it would be an hard condition indeed, not to give the same allowance to a Prince; who must see with other mens eyes, and hear with other mens ears, which are often wilfully blind and deaf. Such was the condition of the Martyr, and is so, in some degree, of all other princes. Yet, this we may justly say in defence of the common people, in all civilized nations, that it must be a very bad government indeed, where the body of the subjects will not rather chuse to live in peace and obedience, than take up arms on pretence of faults in the administration, unless where the vulgar are deluded by false preachers to grow fond of new visions and fancies in religion, which, managed by dextrous men, for sinister ends of malice, envy or ambition, have often made whole nations run mad. This was exactly the case in the whole progress of that great rebellion, and the murder of King Charles I.; but the late Revolution under the Prince of Orange was occasioned by a proceeding directly contrary, the oppression and injustice there beginning from the throne. For that unhappy Prince, King James II. did not only invade our laws and liberties, but would have forced a false religion upon his subjects, for which he was deservedly rejected, since there could be no other remedy found, or at least agreed on. But, under the blessed Martyr, the deluded people would have forced many false religions, not only on their fellow subjects, but even upon their Sovereign himself, and at the same time invaded all his undoubted rights; and, because he would not comply, raised a horrid rebellion, wherein, by the permission of God, they prevailed, and put their Sovereign to death, like a common criminal, in the face of the world.

Therefore, those who seem to think they cannot otherwise justify the late Revolution, and the change of the succession, than by lessening the guilt of the Puritans, do certainly put the greatest affront imaginable upon the present powers, by supposing any relation, or resemblance, between that rebellion and the late Revolution; and, consequently, that the present establishment is to be defended by the same arguments which those usurpers made use of, who, to obtain their tyranny, trampled under foot all the laws both of God and man.

One great design of my discourse was to give you warning against running into either extreme of two bad opinions, with relation to obedience. As kings are called Gods upon earth, so some would allow them an equal power with God, over all laws and ordinances; and that the liberty, and property, and life, and religion of the subject, depended wholly upon the breath of the prince; which however, I hope, was never meant by those who pleaded for passive obedience. And this opinion hath not been confined to that party which was first charged with it, but hath sometimes gone over to the other, to serve many an evil turn of interest or ambition, who have been as ready to enlarge prerogative, where they could find their own account, as the highest maintainers of it.

On the other side, some look upon kings as answerable for every mistake or omission in government, and bound to comply with the most unreasonable demands of an unquiet faction, which was the case of those who persecuted the blessed martyr of this day from his throne to the scaffold.

Between these two extremes, it is easy, from what hath been said, to chuse a middle; to be good and loyal subjects, yet, according to your power, faithful assertors of your religion and liberties. To avoid all broachers and preachers of new-fangled doctrines in the church; to be strict observers of the laws, which cannot be justly taken from you without your own consent. In short, *to obey God and the king, and meddle not with those who are given to change.*

Which that you may all do, &c.

A N
A C C O U N T
OF THE
C O U R T and E M P I R E of J A P A N.

WRITTEN IN MDCCXXVIII.

REGOGE was the thirty-fourth Emperor of Japan, and began his reign in the year 341 of the Christian æra, succeeding to Nena, a Princess who governed with great felicity.

There had been a revolution in that empire about twenty-six years before, which made some breaches in the hereditary line; and Regoge, successor to Nena, although of the royal family, was a distant relation. There were two violent parties in the empire, which began in the time of the revolution above-mentioned; and, at the death of the Empress Nena, were in the highest degree of animosity, each charging the other with a design of introducing new Gods, and changing the civil constitution. The names of these two parties were Hufiges and Yortes. The latter were those whom Nena, the late Empress, most favoured towards the end of her reign, and by whose advice she governed.

The Hufige faction, enraged at their loss of power, made private applications to Regoge during the life of the Empress; which prevailed so far, that, upon her death, the new Emperor wholly disgraced the Yortes, and employed only the Hufiges in all his affairs. The Japanese Author highly blames his Imperial Majesty's proceeding in this affair; because, it was allowed on all hands, that he had then a happy opportunity of reconciling parties for ever by a moderating scheme. But he, on the contrary, began his reign by openly disgracing the principal and
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most popular Yortes, some of which had been chiefly instrumental in raising him to the throne. By this mistaken step he occasioned a rebellion; which, although it were soon quelled by some very surprising turns of fortune, yet the fear, whether real or pretended, of new attempts, engaged him in such immense charges, that, instead of clearing any part of that prodigious debt left on his kingdom by the former war, which might have been done by any tolerable management, in twelve years of the most profound peace; he left his empire loaden with a vast addition to the old incumbrance.

This Prince, before he succeeded to the empire of Japan, was King of Tedfu, a dominion seated on the continent, to the west-side of Japan. Tedfu was the place of his birth, and more beloved by him than his new empire; for there he spent some months almost every year, and thither was supposed to have conveyed great sums of money, saved out of his imperial revenues.

There were two maritime towns of great importance bordering upon Tedfu: Of these he purchased a litigated title; and, to support it, was forced not only to entrench deeply on his Japanese revenues, but to engage in alliances very dangerous to the Japanese empire.

Japan was at that time a limited monarchy, which some authors are of opinion was introduced there by a detachment from the numerous army of Brennus, who ravaged a great part of Asia; and, those of them who fixed in Japan, left behind them that kind of military institution, which the northern people, in ensuing ages, carried through most parts of Europe; the generals becoming kings, the great officers a senate of nobles, with a representative from every centenary of private soldiers; and, in the assent of the majority in these two bodies, confirmed by the general, the legislature consisted.

I need not farther explain a matter so universally known; but return to my subject.

The Hufige faction, by a gross piece of negligence in the Yortes, had so far insinuated themselves and their opinions into
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the favour of Regoge before he came to the empire, that this Prince firmly believed them to be his only true friends, and the others his mortal enemies. By this opinion he governed all the actions of his reign.

The Emperor died suddenly, in his journey to Tedfu; where, according to his usual custom, he was going to pass the summer.

This Prince, during his whole reign, continued an absolute stranger to the language, the manners, the laws, and the religion of Japan; and, passing his whole time among old mistresses, or a few privados, left the whole management of the empire in the hands of a minister, upon the condition of being made easy in his personal revenues, and the management of parties in the senate. His last Minister, who governed in the most arbitrary manner for several years, he was thought to hate more than he did any other person in Japan, except his only son, the heir to the empire. The dislike he bore to the former was, because the minister, under pretence that he could not govern the senate without disposing of employments among them, would not suffer his master to oblige one single person, but disposed of all to his own relations and dependents. But, as to that continued and virulent hatred he bore to the Prince his son, from the beginning of his reign to his death, the Historian hath not accounted for it, further than by various conjectures, which do not deserve to be related.

The minister above mentioned was of a family not contemptible, had been early a senator, and from his youth a mortal enemy to the Yortes. He had been formerly disgraced in the senate, for some frauds in the management of a public trust. He was perfectly skilled, by long practice, in the senatorial forms; and dextrous in the purchasing of votes, from those who could find their accounts better in complying with his measures, than they could probably lose by any tax that might be charged on the kingdom. He seemed to fail, in point of policy, by not concealing his gettings, never scrupling openly to lay out vast sums of money in paintings, buildings,
and

and purchasing estates; when it was known, that, upon his first coming into business, upon the death of the Empress Nena, his fortune was but inconsiderable. He had the most boldness, and the least magnanimity that ever any mortal was endowed with. By enriching his relations, friends, and dependants, in a most exorbitant manner, he was weak enough to imagine that he had provided a support against an evil day. He had the best among all false appearances of courage, which was a most unlimited assurance, whereby he would swagger the boldest men into a dread of his power, but had not the smallest portion of magnanimity, growing jealous, and disgracing every man, who was known to bear the least civility to those he disliked. He had some small smattering in books, but no manner of politeness; nor, in his whole life, was ever known to advance any one person, upon the score of wit, learning, or abilities for business. The whole system of his ministry was corruption; and he never gave bribe or pension, without frankly telling the receivers what he expected from them, and threatening them to put an end to his bounty, if they failed to comply in every circumstance.

A few months before the Emperor's death, there was a design concerted between some eminent persons of both parties, whom the desperate state of the empire had united, to accuse the minister at the first meeting of a new chosen senate, which was then to assemble according to the laws of that empire. And it was believed, that the vast expence he must be at in chusing an assembly proper for his purpose, added to the low state of the treasury, the encreasing number of pensioners, the great discontent of the people, and the personal hatred of the Emperor; would, if well laid open in the senate, be of weight enough to sink the minister, when it should appear to his very pensioners and creatures that he could not supply them much longer.

While this scheme was in agitation, an account came of the Emperor's death, and the Prince his son, with universal joy, mounted the throne of Japan.

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The new Emperor had always lived a private life, during the reign of his father; who, in his annual absence, never trusted him more than once with the reins of government, which he held so evenly that he became too popular to be confided in any more. He was thought not unfavourable to the Yortes, at least not altogether to approve the virulence where-with his father proceeded against them; and therefore, immediately upon his succession, the principal persons of that denomination came, in several bodies, to kiss the hem of his garment, whom he received with great courtesy, and some of them with particular marks of distinction.

The Prince, during the reign of his father, having not been trusted with any public charge, employed his leisure in learning the language, the religion, the customs, and disposition of the Japanese; wherein he received great information, among others, from Nomptoc, master of his finances, and president of the senate, who secretly hated Lelop-Aw, the minister; and likewise from Ramneh, a most eminent senator; who, despairing to do any good with the father, had, with great industry, skill, and decency, used his endeavour to instil good principles into the young Prince.

Upon the news of the former Emperor's death, a grand council was summoned of course, where little passed besides directing the ceremony of proclaiming the Successor. But, in some days after, the new Emperor having consulted with those persons in whom he could chiefly confide, and maturely considered in his own mind the present state of his affairs, as well as the disposition of his people, convoked another assembly of his council; wherein, after some time spent in general business, suitable to the present emergency, he directed Lelop-Aw to give him, in as short terms as he conveniently could, an account of the nation's debts, of his management in the senate, and his negotiations with foreign courts: Which that minister having delivered, according to his usual manner, with much assurance and little satisfaction, the Emperor desired to be fully satisfied in the following particulars.

Whether the vast expence of chusing such members into the senate, as would be content to do the public business, were absolutely necessary?

Whether those members, thus chosen in, would cross and impede the necessary course of affairs, unless they were supplied with great sums of money, and continued pensions?

Whether the same corruption and perverseness were to be expected from the Nobles?

Whether the empire of Japan were in so low a condition, that the imperial envoys, at foreign courts, must be forced to purchase alliances, or prevent a war by immense bribes, given to the ministers of all the neighbouring Princes?

Why the debts of the empire were so prodigiously advanced, in a peace of twelve years at home and abroad?

Whether the Yortes were universally enemies to the religion and laws of the Empire, and to the Imperial Family now reigning?

Whether those persons, whose revenues consist in lands, do not give surer pledges of fidelity to the public, and are more interested in the welfare of the empire, than others whose fortunes consist only in money?

And because Lelop-Aw, for several years past, had engrossed the whole administration, the Emperor signified, that from him alone he expected an answer.

This minister, who had sagacity enough to cultivate an interest in the young Prince's family, during the late Emperor's life, received early intelligence from one of his emissaries of what was intended at the council, and had sufficient time to frame as plausible an answer as his cause and conduct would allow. However, having desired a few minutes to put his thoughts in order, he delivered them in the following manner.

SIR,

Upon this short unexpected warning, to answer your Imperial Majesty's queries I should be wholly at a loss, in your Majesty's august presence, and that of this most noble assembly,

if

if I were armed with a weaker defence than my own loyalty and integrity, and the prosperous success of my endeavours.

It is well known that the death of the Empress Nena happened in a most miraculous juncture; and that, if she had lived two months longer, your illustrious family would have been deprived of your right, and we should have seen an usurper upon your throne, who would have wholly changed the constitution of this empire, both civil and sacred; and although that Empress died in a most opportune season, yet the peaceable entrance of your Majesty's father was effected by a continual series of miracles. The truth of this appears by that unnatural rebellion which the Yortes raised, without the least provocation, in the first year of the late Emperor's reign, which may be sufficient to convince your Majesty, that every soul of that denomination was, is, and will be for ever, a favourer of the Pretender, a mortal enemy to your illustrious family, and an introducer of new Gods into the empire. Upon this foundation was built the whole conduct of our affairs; and, since a great majority of the kingdom was at that time reckoned to favour the Yortes faction, who, in the regular course of elections, must certainly be chosen members of the senate then to be convoked; it was necessary, by the force of money, to influence elections in such a manner, that your Majesty's father might have a sufficient number to weigh down the scale on his side, and thereby carry on those measures which could only secure him and his family in the possession of the empire. To support this original plan I came into the service: But the members of the senate, knowing themselves every day more necessary, upon the choosing of a new senate, I found the charges to increase; and that, after they were chosen, they insisted upon an increase of their pensions; because they well knew that the work could not be carried on without them: And I was more general in my donatives, because I thought it was more for the honour of the crown, that every vote should pass without a division; and that, when a debate was proposed, it should immediately be quashed, by putting the question.

SIR, The date of the present senate is expired, and your Imperial Majesty is now to convoke a new one; which, I confess, will be somewhat more expensive than the last, because the Yortes, from your favourable reception, have begun to reassume a spirit whereof the country had some intelligence; and we know the majority of the people, without proper management, would be still in that fatal interest. However, I dare undertake, with the charge only of four hundred thousand sprangs *, to return as great a majority of senators of the true stamp, as your Majesty can desire. As to the sums of money paid in foreign courts, I hope, in some years, to ease the nation of them, when we and our neighbours come to a good understanding: However, I will be bold to say, they are cheaper than a war, where your Majesty is to be a principal.

The pensions, indeed, to senators and other persons, must needs increase, from the restiveness of some, and scrupulous nature of others; and the new members, who are unpractised, must have better encouragement. However, I dare undertake to bring the eventual charge within eight hundred thousand sprangs. But, to make this easy, there shall be new funds raised, of which I have several schemes ready, without taxing bread or flesh, which shall be referred to more pressing occasions.

Your Majesty knows it is the laudable custom of all Eastern princes, to leave the whole management of affairs, both civil and military, to their Vizirs. The appointments for your family, and private purse, shall exceed those of your predecessors: You shall be at no trouble, further than to appear sometimes in council, and leave the rest to me: You shall hear no clamour or complaints: Your senate shall, upon occasions, declare you the best of princes, the father of your country, the arbiter of Asia, the defender of the oppressed, and the delight of mankind.

SIR, Hear not those who would most falsely, impiously, and maliciously insinuate, that your government can be car-

* About a million Sterling.

ried on without that wholesome, necessary expedient, of sharing the public revenue with your faithful deserving senators. This, I know, my enemies are pleased to call bribery and corruption. Be it so: But I insist, that, without this bribery and corruption, the wheels of government will not turn, or at least will be apt to take fire, like other wheels, unless they be greased at proper times. If an angel from heaven should descend, to govern this empire upon any other scheme than what our enemies call corruption, he must return from whence he came, and leave the work undone.

SIR, It is well known we are a trading nation, and consequently cannot thrive in a bargain where nothing is to be gained. The poor electors, who run from their shops, or the plough, for the service of their country, are they not to be considered for their labour and their loyalty? The candidates, who, with the hazard of their persons, the loss of their characters, and the ruin of their fortunes, are preferred to the senate, in a country where they are strangers, before the very lords of the soil; are they not to be rewarded for their zeal to your Majesty's service, and qualified to live in your metropolis as becomes the lustre of their stations?

SIR, If I have given great numbers of the most profitable employments among my own relations and nearest allies, it was not out of any partiality, but because I know them best, and can best depend upon them. I have been at the pains to mould and cultivate their opinions. Abler heads might probably have been found, but they would not be equally under my direction. A huntsman, who hath the absolute command of his dogs, will hunt more effectually than with a better pack, to whose manner and cry he is a stranger.

SIR, Upon the whole, I will appeal to all those who best knew your royal father, whether that blessed monarch had ever one anxious thought for the public, or disappointment, or uneasiness, or want of money for all his occasions, during the time of my administration? And, how happy the people confessed themselves to be under such a king, I leave to their
OWN

own numerous addresses; which all politicians will allow to be the most infallible proof how any nation stands affected to their sovereign.

Lelop-Aw, having ended his speech and struck his forehead thrice against the table, as the custom is in Japan, fate down with great complacency of mind, and much applause of his adherents, as might be observed by their countenances and their whispers. But the Emperor's behaviour was remarkable; for, during the whole harangue, he appeared equally attentive and uneasy. After a short pause, his Majesty commanded that some other counsellor should deliver his thoughts, either to confirm or object against what had been spoken by Lelop-Aw.



A
L E T T E R
TO THE
WRITER of the OCCASIONAL PAPER.

[Vide the CRAFTSMAN, 1727.]

SIR,

ALTHOUGH, in one of your Papers, you declare an intention of turning them, during the dead season of the year, into accounts of domestic and foreign intelligence; yet I think we, your correspondents, should not understand your meaning so literally, as if you intended to reject inserting any other paper, which might probably be useful for the public. Neither, indeed, am I fully convinced that this new course you resolve to take will render you more secure than your former laudable practice, of inserting such speculations as were sent you by several well-wishers to the good of the kingdom; however grating such notices might be to some, who wanted neither power nor inclination to resent them at your cost. For, since there is a direct law against spreading false news, if you should venture to tell us in one of the Craftsmen that the Dey of Algiers had got the tooth-ach, or the King of Bantam had taken a purge, and the facts should be contradicted in succeeding packets; I do not see what plea you could offer to avoid the utmost penalty of the law, because you are not supposed to be very gracious among those who are most able to hurt you.

Besides, as I take your intentions to be sincerely meant for the public service, so your original method of entertaining and instructing

instructing us will be more general and more useful in this season of the year, when people are retired to amusements more cool, more innocent, and much more reasonable than those they have left; when their passions are subsided or suspended; when they have no occasions of inflaming themselves, or each other; where they will have opportunities of hearing common sense, every day in the week, from their tenants or neighbouring farmers, and thereby be qualified, in hours of rain or leisure, to read and consider the advice or information you shall send them.

Another weighty reason why you should not alter your manner of writing, by dwindling to a news-monger, is because there is no suspension of arms agreed on between you and your adversaries, who fight with a sort of weapons which have two wonderful qualities, that they are never to be worn out, and are best wielded by the weakest hands, and which the poverty of our language forceth me to call by the trite appellations of Scurrility, Slander, and Billingsgate. I am far from thinking that these gentlemen, or rather their employers, (for the operators themselves are too obscure to be guessed at) should be answered after their own way, although it were possible to drag them out of their obscurity; but I wish you would enquire what real use such a conduct is to the cause they have been so largely paid to defend. The author of the three first Occasional Letters, a person altogether unknown, hath been thought to glance (for what reasons he best knows) at some public proceedings, as if they were not agreeable to his private opinions. In answer to this, the pamphleteers retained on the other side are instructed by their superiors, to single out an adversary whose abilities they most have reason to apprehend, and to load himself, his family, and friends, with all the infamy that a perpetual conversation in Bridewell, Newgate, and the stews could furnish them; but, at the same time, so very unluckily, that the most distinguishing parts of their characters strike directly in the face of their benefactor, whose idea pre-
sents

senting itself along with his guineas perpetually to their imagination, occasioned this desperate blunder.

But, allowing this heap of slander to be truth, and applied to the proper person; what is to be the consequence? Are our public debts to be the sooner paid; the corruptions that author complains of to be the sooner cured; an honourable peace, or a glorious war the more likely to ensue; trade to flourish; the Ostend company to be demolished; Gibraltar and Port-Mahon left entire in our possession; the balance of Europe to be preserved; the malignity of parties to be for ever at an end; none but persons of merit, virtue, genius, and learning to be encouraged? I ask whether any of these effects will follow upon the publication of this author's libel, even supposing he could prove every syllable of it to be true?

At the same time, I am well assured, that the only reason of ascribing those papers to a particular person, is built upon the information of a certain pragmatistical spy of quality, well known to act in that capacity by those into whose company he insinuates himself; a sort of persons who, although without much love, esteem, or dread of people in present power, yet have too much common prudence to speak their thoughts with freedom before such an intruder; who, therefore, imposes grossly upon his masters, if he makes them pay for any thing but his own conjectures.

It is a grievous mistake in a great minister to neglect or despise, much more to irritate men of genius and learning. I have heard one of the wisest persons in my time observe, that an administration was to be known and judged by the talents of those who appeared their advocates in print. This I must never allow to be a general rule; yet I cannot but think it prodigiously unfortunate, that, among the answerers, defenders, repliers, and panegyrists, started up in defence of present persons and proceedings, there hath not yet arisen one whose labours we can read with patience, however we may applaud their loyalty and good-will. And all this with the advantages of constant ready pay, of natural and acquired venom, and a

grant of the whole fund of slander, to range over and riot in as they please.

On the other side, a turbulent writer of Occasional Letters, and other vexatious papers, in conjunction perhaps with one or two friends as bad as himself, is able to disconcert, teaze, and sour us whenever he thinks fit, merely by the strength of genius and truth; and after so dextrous a manner, that, when we are vexed to the soul, and well know the reasons why we are so, we are ashamed to own the first, and cannot tell how to express the other. In a word, it seems to me that all the writers are on one side, and all the railers on the other.

However, I do not pretend to assert, that it is impossible for an ill minister to find men of wit who may be drawn, by a very valuable consideration, to undertake his defence; but the misfortune is, that the heads of such writers rebel against their hearts; their genius forsakes them, when they would offer to prostitute it to the service of injustice, corruption, party-rage, and false representations of things and persons.

And this is the best argument I can offer in defence of great men, who have been of late so very unhappy in the choice of their paper-champions; although I cannot much commend their good husbandry, in those exorbitant payments of twenty and sixty guineas at a time for a scurvy pamphlet; since the sort of work they require is what will all come within the talents of any one who hath enjoyed the happiness of a very bad education, hath kept the vilest company, is endowed with a servile spirit, is master of an empty purse, and a heart full of malice.

But, to speak the truth in soberness; it should seem a little hard, since the old Whiggish principle hath been recalled of standing up for the liberty of the press, to a degree that no man, for several years past, durst venture out a thought which did not square to a point with the maxims and practices that then prevailed: I say, it is a little hard that the vilest mercenaries should be countenanced, preferred, rewarded, for

discharging their brutalities against men of honour, only upon a bare conjecture.

If it should happen that these profligates have attacked an innocent person, I ask what satisfaction can their hirers give in return? Not all the wealth raked together by the most corrupt rapacious ministers, in the longest course of unlimited power, would be sufficient to atone for the hundredth part of such an injury.

In the common way of thinking, it is a situation sufficient in all conscience to satisfy a reasonable ambition, for a private person, to command the forces, the laws, the revenues of a great kingdom, to reward and advance his followers and flatterers as he pleases, and to keep his enemies (real or imaginary) in the dust. In such an exaltation, why should he be at the trouble to make use of fools to sound his praises, (because I always thought the lion was hard set, when he chose the ass for his trumpeter) or knaves to revenge his quarrels, at the expence of innocent mens reputations?

With all those advantages, I cannot see why persons, in the height of power, should be under the least concern on account of their reputation, for which they have no manner of use; or to ruin that of others, which may perhaps be the only possession their enemies have left them. Supposing times of corruption, which I am very far from doing, if a writer displays them in their proper colours, does he do any thing worse than sending customers to the shop? Here only, at the sign of the Brazen Head, are to be sold places and pensions: beware of counterfeits, and take care of mistaking the door.

For my own part, I think it very unnecessary to give the character of a great minister in the fulness of his power, because it is a thing that naturally does itself, and is obvious to the eyes of all mankind; for his personal qualities are all derived into the most minute parts of his administration. If this be just, prudent, regular, impartial, intent upon the public good, prepared for present exigencies, and provident of the future; such is the director himself in his private capacity: If it be ra-

pacious, insolent, partial, palliating long and deep diseases of the public with empirical remedies, false, disguised, impudent, malicious, revengeful; you shall infallibly find the private life of the conductor to answer in every point; nay, what is more, every twinge of the gout or gravel will be felt in their consequences by the community: As the thief-catcher, upon viewing a house broke open, could immediately distinguish, from the manner of the workmanship, by what hand it was done.

It is hard to form a maxim against which an exception is not ready to start up: So, in the present case, where the minister grows enormously rich, the public is proportionably poor; as, in a private family, the steward always thrives the fastest when his Lord is running out.

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OF
PUBLIC ABSURDITIES
IN ENGLAND.

IT is a common topic of satire, which you will hear not only from the mouths of ministers of state, but of every whiffler in office, that half a dozen obscure fellows, over a bottle of wine or a dish of coffee, shall presume to censure the actions of parliaments and councils, to form schemes of government, and new-model the commonwealth; and this usually ridiculed as a pragmatistical disposition to politics, in the very nature and genius of the people. It may possibly be true: And yet I am grossly deceived if any sober man, of very moderate talents, when he reflects upon the many ridiculous hurtful maxims, customs, and general rules of life, which prevail in this kingdom, would not with great reason be tempted, according to the present turn of his humour, either to laugh, lament, or be angry; or, if he were sanguine enough, perhaps to dream of a remedy. It is the mistake of wise and good men, that they expect more reason and virtue from human nature, than, taking it in the bulk, it is in any sort capable of. Whoever hath been present at councils or assemblies of any sort, if he be a man of common prudence, cannot but have observed such results and opinions to have frequently passed a majority, as he would be ashamed to advance in private conversation. I say nothing of cruelty, oppression, injustice, and the like, because these are fairly to be accounted for in all assemblies, as best gratifying the passions and interests of leaders; which is a point of such high consideration, that all others must give place to it. But I would be understood here to speak only of opinions

opinions ridiculous, foolish, and absurd; with conclusions and actions suitable to them, at the same time when the most reasonable propositions are often unanimously rejected.

And, as all assemblies of men are liable to this accusation, so likewise there are natural absurdities from which the wisest states are not exempt, which proceed less from the nature of their climate than that of their government; the Gauls, the Britons, the Spaniards, and Italians, having retained very little of the characters given them in antient history.

By these and the like reflexions, I have been often led to consider some public absurdities in our own country, most of which are, in my opinion, directly against the rules of right reason, and are attended with great inconveniences to the state. I shall mention such of them as come into memory, without observing any method; and I shall give my reason why I take them to be absurd in their nature, and pernicious in their consequence.

It is absurd that any person, who professeth a different form of worship from that which is national, should be trusted with a vote for electing members in the House of Commons. Because every man is full of zeal for his own religion, although he regards not morality; and, therefore, will endeavour to his utmost to bring in a representative of his own principles, which, if they be popular, may endanger the religion established; which, as it hath formerly happened, may alter the whole frame of government.

A standing army in England, whether in time of peace or war, is a direct absurdity. For, it is no part of our business to be a warlike nation, otherwise than by our fleets. In foreign wars we have no concern, further than in conjunction with allies, whom we may either assist by sea, or by foreign troops paid with our money. But mercenary troops in England can be of no use, except to awe senates, and thereby promote arbitrary power in a monarchy or oligarchy.

That the election of senators should be of any charge to the candidates, is an absurdity; but, that it should be so to a ministry,

ministry, is a manifest acknowledgement of the worst designs. If a ministry intended the service of their prince and country, or well understood wherein their own security best consisted, (as it is impossible that a parliament freely elected, according to the original institution, can do any hurt to a tolerable prince, or a tolerable ministry;) they would use the strongest methods to leave the people to their own free choice: The members would then consist of persons who had best estates in the neighbourhood or county, or at least never of strangers. And surely this is at least full as requisite a circumstance to a legislator, as to a juryman, who ought to be, if possible, *ex vicinio*; since such persons must be supposed the best judges of the wants and desires of their several burroughs and counties. To chuse a representative for Berwick, whose estate is at the Land's-End, would have been thought in former times a very great solecism, how much more as it is at present, where so many persons are returned for burroughs, who do not possess a foot of land in the kingdom.

By the old constitution, whoever possessed a freehold in land, by which he was a gainer of forty shillings a year, had the privilege to vote for a knight of the shire. The good effects of this law are wholly eluded, partly by the course of time, and partly by corruption. Forty shillings in those ages were equal to twenty pounds in ours; and therefore it was then a want of sagacity to fix that privilege to a determinate sum, rather than to a certain quantity of land, arable or pasture, able to produce a certain quantity of corn or hay. And therefore it is highly absurd, and against the intent of the law, that this defect is not regulated.

But the matter is still worse: For any gentleman can, upon occasion, make as many freeholders as his estate or settlement will allow, by making leases for life of land at a rack rent of forty shillings, where a tenant, who is not worth one farthing a year, when his rent is paid, shall be held a legal voter for a person to represent his county. Neither do I enter into half the frauds that are practised upon this occasion.

It

It is likewise absurd, that burroughs decayed are not absolutely extinguished, because the returned members do in reality represent nobody at all, and that several large towns are not represented, though full of industrious townsmen, who much advance the trade of the kingdom.

The claim of Senators, to have themselves and servants exempted from law-suits and arrests, is manifestly absurd. The proceedings at law are already so scandalous a grievance, upon account of the delays, that they little need any addition. Whoever is either not able, or not willing to pay his just debts, or, to keep other men out of their lands, would evade the decision of the law, is surely but ill-qualified to be a legislator. A criminal, with as good reason, might sit on the bench, with a power of condemning men to be hanged for their honesty. By the annual sitting of parliaments, and the days of privilege preceding and subsequent, a senator is one half of the year beyond the reach of common justice.

That the sacred person of a Senator's footman should be free from arrest, although he undoes the poor alewife by running on score, is a circumstance of equal wisdom and justice, to avoid the great evil of his master's lady wanting her complement of liveries behind the coach.



S H O R T
R E M A R K S
O N
B I S H O P B U R N E T ' s H I S T O R Y .

THIS author is in most particulars the worst qualified for an historian that ever I met with. His style is rough, full of improprieties, in expressions often Scotch, and often such as are used by the meanest people. He discovers a great scarcity of words and phrases, by repeating the same several hundred times, for want of capacity to vary them. His observations are mean and trite, and very often false. His Secret History is generally made up of coffee-house scandals, or at best from reports at the third, fourth, or fifth hand. The account of the Pretender's birth, would only become an old woman in a chimney-corner. His vanity runs intolerably through the whole book, affecting to have been of consequence at nineteen years old, and while he was a little Scotch parson of 40 pounds a year. He was a gentleman born, and, in the time of his youth and vigour, drew in an old maiden daughter of a Scotch Earl to marry him. His characters are miserably wrought, in many things mistaken, and all of them detracting, except of those who were friends to the Presbyterians. That early love of liberty he boasts of is absolutely false; for the first book that I believe he ever published is an entire treatise in favour of passive obedience and absolute power; so that his reflexions on the clergy, for asserting, and then changing those principles, come very improperly from him. He is the most partial of all writers that ever pretended so much to impartiality; and yet I, who

knew him well, am convinced that he is as impartial as he could possibly find in his heart; I am sure more than I ever expected from him; particularly in his accounts of the Papist and Fanatic plots. This work may be more properly called A History of Scotland during the author's time, with some digressions relating to England, rather than deserve the title he gives it. For I believe two thirds of it relate only to that beggarly nation, and their insignificant brangles and factions. What he succeeds best in, is in giving extracts of arguments and debates in council or parliament. Nothing recommends his book but the recency of the facts he mentions, most of them being still in memory, especially the story of the Revolution; which, however, is not so well told as might be expected from one who affects to have had so considerable a share in it. After all, he was a man of generosity and good-nature, and very communicative; but, in his ten last years, was absolute party-mad, and fancied he saw Popery under every bush. He hath told me many passages not mentioned in this History, and many that are, but with several circumstances suppressed or altered. He never gives a good character without one essential point, that the person was tender to dissenters, and thought many things in the church ought to be amended.

Setting up for a maxim, Laying down for a maxim, Clapt up, Decency, and some other words and phrases, he uses many hundred times.

Cut out for a Court, A pardoning planet, Clapt up, Left in the lurch, The Mob, Outed, A great beauty, Went roundly to work: All these phrases used by the vulgar, shew him to have kept mean or illiterate company in his youth.

AN
A B S T R A C T
OF THE
HISTORY of ENGLAND,

From the Invasion of it by JULIUS CÆSAR to WILLIAM
THE CONQUEROR.

THE most antient account we have of Britain is, that the island was full of inhabitants, divided into several petty kingdoms, as most nations of the world appear to have been at first. The bodies of the Britons were painted with a sky- Britons. coloured blue, either as an ornament or else for terror to their enemies. In their religion they were Heathens, as all the Heathens. world was before CHRIST, except the Jews.

Their priests were called Druids: These lived in hollow trees, Druids. and committed not their mysteries to writing, but delivered them down by tradition, whereby they were in time wholly lost.

The Britons had wives in common, so many to a particular tribe or society, and the children were in common to that society.

About fifty years before Christ, Julius Cæsar, the first Roman Emperor, having conquered Gaul or France, invaded Britain rather to increase his glory than conquests; for, having overcome the natives in one or two battles, he returned.

The next invasion of Britain by the Romans (then masters of most of the known world) was in the reign of the Emperor Claudius; but it was not wholly subdued till that of Nero. It Claudius. Nero. was governed by lieutenants, or deputies, sent from Rome, as

Ireland is now by deputies from England; and continued thus under the Romans for about 460 years; till that empire being invaded by the Goths and Vandals, the Romans were forced not only to recal their own armies, but also to draw from hence the bravest of the Britons, for their assistance against those Barbarians.

The Roman conquests in this island reached no further northward than to that part of Scotland where Stirling and Glasgow are seated: The region beyond was held not worth the conquering: It was inhabited by a barbarous people, called Caledonians and Picts; who, being a rough fierce nation, daily infested the British borders. Therefore the Emperor Severus built a wall, from Stirling to Glasgow, to prevent the invasions of the Picts: It is commonly called the Picts Wall.

These Picts and Caledonians, or Scots, encouraged by the departure of the Romans, do now cruelly infest and invade the Britons by sea and land: The Britons chuse Vortigern for their king, who was forced to invite the Saxons (a fierce northern people) to assist him against those Barbarians. The Saxons came over, and beat the Picts in several battles; but, at last, pick quarrels with the Britons themselves; and, after a long war, drive them into the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, and establish themselves in seven kingdoms in Britain, (by them now called England.) These seven kingdoms are usually stiled the Saxon Heptarchy.

A.D. 455. Saxons.
A.D. 460. Arthur. About this time lived King Arthur (if the whole story be not a fable) who was so famous for beating the Saxons in several battles.

The Britons received Christianity very early, and, as is reported, from some of the disciples themselves: So that, when the Romans left Britain, the Britons were generally Christians. But the Saxons were Heathens, till Pope Gregory the Great sent over hither Austin the Monk, by whom Ethelbert king of the South-Saxons, and his subjects, were converted to Christianity; and the whole island soon followed the example.

After

After many various revolutions in this island among the kingdoms of the Saxons, Egbert, descended from the West-Saxon ^{Egbert.} A.D. 819. kings, became sole monarch of England.

The language in Britain was British, (now called Welch) or Latin; but, with the Saxons, English came in (although extremely different from what it is now.) The present names of towns, shires, &c. were given by them; and the whole kingdom was called England from the Angles, who were a branch of ^{Angles.} the Saxons.

As soon as the Saxons were settled, the Danes began to trouble ^{Danes.} and invade them, as they (the Saxons) had before done the Britons.

These Danes came out of Germany, Denmark, and Norway, a rough warlike people, little different from the Saxons, to whom they were nigh neighbours.

After many invasions from the Danes, Edgar king of England ^{Edgar.} sets forth the first navy. He was entitled King of all Albion, (an old name of this island) and was the first absolute monarch.

He made peace with the Danes, and allowed them to live in his dominions mixt with the English.

In this Prince's time there were five kings in Wales, who all did him homage for their country.

These Danes began first to make their invasions here about the year 800, which they after renewed at several times, and under several leaders, and were as often repulsed. They used to come with vast numbers of ships, burn and ravage before them, as the cities of London, Winchester, &c. Encouraged by success and prey, they often wintered in England, fortifying themselves in the northern parts, from whence they cruelly infested the Saxon kings. In process of time they mixed with the English (as was said before) and lived under the Saxon government: But Ethelred, then king of England, weary of the Danish insolence, a conspiracy is formed, and the Danes are ^{A.D. 978.} massacred in one day all over England. ^{Danes massacred.}

Four years after, Sweyn king of Denmark, to revenge the ^{Sweyn.} death of his subjects, invades England; and, after battles fought and

and much cruelty exercised, he subdues the whole kingdom, forcing Ethelred to fly into Normandy.

Canutus. Sweyn dying, his son Canutus succeeds in the kingdom; but Ethelred returning with an army, Canutus is forced to withdraw to Denmark for succour.

Ethelred dies, and his son Edmond Ironside succeeds; but, Canutus returning with fresh forces from Denmark, after several battles, the kingdom is parted between them both. Edmond dying, his sons are sent beyond sea by Canutus, who now is sole king of England.

King's Evil. Hardicanute, the last Danish king, dying without issue, Edward, son of Ethelred, is chosen king. For his great holiness, he was surnamed the Confessor, and fainted after his death. He was the first of our princes that attempted to cure the king's evil by touching. He first introduced what is now called the Common Law. In his time began the mode and humour among the English gentry, of using the French tongue and fashions, in compliance with the King, who had been bred up in Normandy.

The Danish government in England lasted but twenty-six years, under three kings.

Harold. Edward the Confessor married the daughter of Earl Godwin, an English nobleman of great power, but of Danish extraction; but, wanting issue, he appointed Edgar Atheling, grandson to his brother, to succeed him, and Harold, son of Earl Godwin, to be governor of the young prince. But, upon Edward's death, Harold neglected Edgar Atheling, and usurped the crown for himself.

Edward, while he was in Normandy, met so good reception, that it was said he made a promise to that Duke, that, in case he recovered his kingdom, and died without issue, he would leave it to him. Edward dying, William Duke of Normandy sends to Harold to claim the crown; but Harold, now in possession, resolves to keep it. Upon which Duke William, having prepared a mighty fleet and army, invades England, lands at Hastings, and sets fire to his fleet, to cut off all hope from his
men

men of returning. To Harold he sent his messenger, demanding the kingdom and his subjection: But Harold returned him this answer, That, unless he departed his land, he would make him sensible of his just displeasure. So Harold advanced his forces into Suffex, within seven miles of his enemy. The Norman Duke, to save the effusion of blood, sent these offers to Harold; either wholly to resign the kingdom to him, or to try the quarrel with him in single combat. To this Harold did not agree.

Then the battle joined. The Normans had gotten the worst, if it had not been for a stratagem they invented, which got them the day. In this engagement Harold was killed, and William Duke of Normandy became king of England, under the name of William the Conqueror. A.D. 1066.



A
L E T T E R
T O

A MEMBER of PARLIAMENT, in IRELAND,

Upon the chusing a new SPEAKER there.

Written in the Year 1708.

SIR,

YOU may easily believe I am not at all surpris'd at what you tell me, since it is but a confirmation of my own conjecture that I sent you last week, and made you my reproaches upon it at a venture. It looks exceeding strange, yet I believe it to be a great truth, that, in order to carry a point in your House, the two following circumstances are of great advantage: First, to have an ill cause; and, secondly, to be a minority. For both these circumstances are extremely apt to invite men, to make them assiduous in their attendance, watchful of opportunities, zealous for gaining over proselytes, and often successful; which is not to be wondered at, when favour and interest are on the side of their opinion. Whereas, on the contrary, a majority with a good cause are negligent and supine. They think it sufficient to declare themselves upon opinion in favour of their party; but, failing against the tide of favour and preferment, they are easily scattered and driven back. In short, they want a common principle to cement, and motive to spirit them. For the bare acting upon a principle from the dictates of a good conscience, or prospect of serving the public, will not go very far under the present dispositions of mankind. This was amply verified last sessions of parliament, upon occasion of

of the money-bill, the merits of which I shall not pretend to examine. It is enough that, upon the first news of its transmission hither, in the form it afterwards appeared, the members, upon discourse with their friends, seemed unanimous against it, I mean those of both parties, except a few, who were looked upon as persons ready to go any lengths prescribed them by the court. Yet with only a weak canvassing among a very few hands, the bill passed after a full debate, by a very great majority. Yet, I believe, you will hardly attempt persuading me, or any body else, that one man in ten, of those who changed their language, were moved by reasons any way affecting the merits of the cause, but merely through hope, fear, indolence, or good-manners. Nay, I have been assured from good hands, that there was still a number sufficient to make a majority against the bill, if they had not apprehended the other side to be secure, and therefore thought it imprudence, by declaring themselves, to disoblige the government to no purpose.

Reflecting upon this and forty other passages, in the several Houses of Commons since the Revolution, makes me apt to think there is nothing a Chief Governor can be commanded to attempt here wherein he may not succeed, with a very competent share of address, and with such assistance as he will always find ready at his devotion. And therefore I repeat what said at first, that I am not at all surpris'd at what you tell me. For, if there had been the least spark of public spirit left, those who wished well to their country and its constitution in church and state, should, upon the first news of the late speaker's promotion, (and you and I know it might have been done a great deal sooner) have immediately gone together, and consulted about the fittest person to succeed him. But, by all I can comprehend, you have been so far from proceeding thus, that it hardly ever came into any of your heads. And the reason you give is the worst in the world: That none offered themselves, and you knew not whom to pitch upon. It seems, however, the other party was more resolved; or at least not

so modest: For you say your vote is engaged against your opinion, and several gentlemen in my neighbourhood tell me the same story of themselves. This, I confess, is of an unusual strain, and a good many steps below any condescensions a court will, I hope, ever require from you. I shall not trouble myself to enquire who is the person for whom you and others are engaged, or whether there be more candidates from that side than one. You tell me nothing of either, and I never thought it worth the question to any body else. But, in so weighty an affair, and against your judgment, I cannot look upon you as irrevocably determined. Therefore I desire you will give me leave to reason with you a little upon the subject, lest your compliance, or inadvertency, should put you upon what you may have cause to repent of as long as you live.

You know very well, the great business of the high-flying Whigs, at this juncture, is to endeavour a repeal of the Test-clause. You know likewise that the moderate men, both of High and Low-church, profess to be wholly averse from this design, as thinking it beneath the policy of common gardeners to cut down the only hedge that shelters from the north. Now, I will put the case: If the person to whom you have promised your vote be one of whom you have the least apprehension that he will promote or assent to the repealing of that clause, whether it be decent or proper he should be the mouth of an assembly, whereof a very great majority pretend to abhor his opinion? Can a body, whose mouth and heart must go so contrary ways, ever act with sincerity, or hardly with consistence? Such a man is no proper vehicle to retain or convey the sense of the House, which, in so many points of the greatest moment, will be directly contrary to his. It is full as absurd, as to prefer a man to a bishopric who denies revealed religion. But it may possibly be a great deal worse. What if the person you design to vote into that important post, should not only be a declared enemy of the Sacramental Test, but should prove to be a solicitor, an encourager, or even a penner of addresses to complain of it? Do you think it so indifferent a thing,

thing, that a promise of course, the effect of compliance, importunity, shame of refusing, or any the like motive, shall oblige you past the power of retracting?

Perhaps you will tell me, as some have already had the weakness, that it is of little importance to either party to have a speaker of their side, his business being only to take the sense of the House and report it; that you often, at committees, put an able speaker into the chair on purpose to prevent him from stopping a bill. Why, if it were no more than this, I believe I should hardly chuse, even among my footmen, such a one to deliver a message, whose interest and opinion led him to wish it might miscarry. But I remember to have heard Colonel Birch of Herefordshire say, that he was a very sorry speaker, whose single vote was not better than fifty common ones. I am sure it is reckoned in England the first great test of the prevalency of either party in the House. Sir Thomas Lyttelton thought, that a House of Commons with a stinking breath (supposing the Speaker to be the mouth) would go near to infect every thing within the walls, and a great deal without. It is smallest part of an able Speaker's business, what he performs in the House, at least if he be in with the court, when it is hard to say how many converts may be made in a circle of dinner or private cabals. And you and I easily call to mind a gentleman in that station, in England, who, by his own arts and personal credit, was able to draw over a majority, and change the whole power of a prevailing side in a nice juncture of affairs, and made a parliament expire in one party who had lived in another.

I am far from an inclination to multiply party-causes, but surely the best of us can with very ill grace make that an objection, who have not been so nice in matters of much less importance. Yet I have heard some persons of both sides gravely deliver themselves in this manner, Why should we make the chusing a speaker a party-cause? Let us fix upon one who is well versed in the practices and methods of parliament. And I believe there are too many who would talk at the same rate,

if the question were not only about abolishing the sacramental test, but the sacrament itself.

But suppose the principles of the most artful Speaker would have no influence either to obtain or obstruct any point in parliament, who can answer what effects such a choice may produce without doors? It is obvious how such a matter serves to raise the spirits and hopes of the Dissenters and their high-flying advocates, what lengths they run, what conclusions they form, and what hopes they entertain. Do they hear of a new friend in office? That is encouragement enough to practise the city, against the opinion of a majority into an address to the Queen for repealing the Sacramental Test; or issue out their orders to the next fanatic parson to furbish up his old sermons, and preach and print new ones directly against Episcopacy. I would lay a good wager, that, if the choice of a new Speaker succeeds exactly to their liking, we shall see it soon followed by many new attempts, either in the form of pamphlet, sermon, or address, to the same, or perhaps more dangerous purposes.

Supposing the Speaker's office to be only an employment of profit and honour, and a step to a better; since it is in your own gift, will you not chuse to bestow it upon some person whose principles the majority of you pretends to approve, if it were only to be sure of a worthy man hereafter in a high station, on the bench or at the bar? I confess, if it were a thing possible to be compassed, it would seem most reasonable to fill the chair with some person who would be entirely devoted to neither party: But, since there are so few of that character, and those either unqualified or unfriended, I cannot see how a majority will answer it to their reputation, to be so ill provided of able persons, that they must have recourse for a leader to their adversaries, a proceeding of which I never met with above one example, and even that succeeded but ill, though it was recommended by an oracle, which advised some city in Greece to beg a General from their enemies, who, in scorn, sent them either a fidler or a poet, I have forgotten which;

which; but so much I remember, that his conduct was such, as they soon grew weary of him.

You pretend to be heartily resolved against repealing the Sacramental Test, yet, at the same time, give the only great employment you have to dispose of to a person who will take that test against stomach (by which word I understand many a man's conscience) who earnestly wisheth it repealed, and will endeavour it to the utmost of his power; so that the first action after you meet, will be a sort of contravention to that Test: And will any body go further than your practice to judge of your principles?

And now I am upon this subject, I cannot conclude without saying something to a very popular argument against that Sacramental Test, which may be apt to shake many of those who would otherwise wish well enough to it. They say it was a new hardship put upon the Dissenters, without any provocation; and, it is plain, could be no way necessary, because we had peaceably lived together so long without it. They add some other circumstances of the arts by which it was obtained, and the person by whom it was inserted. Surely such people do not consider that the penal laws against Dissenters were made wholly ineffectual by the connivance and mercy of the government, so that all employments of the state lay as open to them as they did to the best and most legal subjects. And what progress they would have made by the advantages of a late conjuncture, is obvious to imagine; which I take to be a full answer to that objection.

I remember, upon the transmission of that bill with the Test-clause inserted, the Dissenters and their partizans, among other topics, spoke much of the good effects produced by the lenity of the government: That the Presbyterians were grown very inconsiderable in their number and quality, and would daily come into the church, if we did not fright them from it by new severities. When the act was passed, they presently changed their style, and raised a clamour, through both kingdoms, of the great numbers of considerable gentry who were laid aside,
and

and could no longer serve their Queen and country: Which hyperbolical way of reckoning, when it came to be melted down into truth, amounted to about fifteen country-justices, most of them of the lowest size, for estate, quality, or understanding. However, this puts me in mind of a passage told me by a great man, although I know not whether it be any where recorded. That a complaint was made to the King and Council of Sweden, of a prodigious swarm of Scots, who, under the condition of pedlars, infested that kingdom to such a degree, as, if not suddenly prevented, might in time prove dangerous to the state, by joining with any discontented party. Meanwhile the Scots, by their agents, placed a good sum of money to engage the offices of the prime minister in their behalf; who, in order to their defence, told the Council, He was assured they were but a few inconsiderable people, that lived honestly and poorly, and were not of any consequence. Their enemies offered to prove the contrary: Whereupon an order was made to take their numbers, which was found to amount, as I remember, to about thirty thousand. The affair was again brought before the Council, and great reproaches made the first minister, for his ill computation; who, presently taking the other handle, said, he had reason to believe the number yet greater than what was returned; and then gravely offered to the King's consideration, whether it were safe to render desperate so great a body of able men, who had little to lose, and whom any hard treatment would only serve to unite into a power capable of disturbing, if not destroying the peace of the kingdom. And so they were suffered to continue.



SOME FEW
T H O U G H T S
C O N C E R N I N G
T H E R E P E A L O F T H E T E S T.

THOSE of either side who have written upon this subject of the Test, in making or answering objections, seem to fail by not pressing sufficiently the chief point upon which the controversy turns. The arguments used by those who write for the church are very good in their kind, but will have little force under the present corruptions of mankind, because the authors treat this subject *tanquam in republica Platonis, et non in face Romuli*.

It must be confessed, that, considering how few employments of any consequence fall to the share of those English who are born in this kingdom, and those few very dearly purchased, at the expence of conscience, liberty, and all regard for the public good, they are not worth contending for: And, if nothing but profit were in the case, it would hardly cost me one sigh when I should see those few scraps thrown among every species of Fanatics, to scuffle for among themselves.

And this will infallibly be the case, after repealing the Test.

For, every subdivision of sect will, with equal justice, pretend to have a share; and, as it is usual with sharers, will never think they have enough, while any pretender is left unprovided. I shall not except the Quakers; because, when the passage is once let open for all sects to partake in public emoluments, it is very probable the lawfulness of taking oaths, and wearing carnal weapons, may be revealed to the brotherhood; which thought, I confess, was first put into my head by one of the shrewdest Quakers in this kingdom*.

* Undoubtedly the Quaker hinted at by Dr. Swift was the late Mr. Rooke; a man who had a very good taste for wit, had read abundance of history, and was perhaps the most learned Quaker, one of them, in the world. To the best of my recollection, he was the author of a good humorous pastoral in the Quaker-style.

M A X I M S

CONTROLLED

I N I R E L A N D.

The Truth of some Maxims in State and Government, examined with reference to Ireland.

THERE are certain Maxims of State, founded upon long observation and experience, drawn from the constant practice of the wisest nations, and from the very principles of government, nor ever controlled by any writer upon politics. Yet all these Maxims do necessarily presuppose a kingdom, or commonwealth, to have the same natural rights common to the rest of mankind who have entered into civil society. For, if we could conceive a nation where each of the inhabitants had but one eye, one leg, and one hand, it is plain that, before you could institute them into a republic, an allowance must be made for those material defects, wherein they differed from other mortals. Or, imagine a legislator forming a system for the government of Bedlam, and, proceeding upon the maxim that man is a sociable animal, should draw them out of their cells, and form them into corporations or general assemblies; the consequence might probably be, that they would fall foul on each other, or burn the house over their own heads.

Of the like nature are innumerable errors, committed by crude and short thinkers, who reason upon general topics, without the least allowance for the most important circumstances, which quite alter the nature of the case.

This hath been the fate of those small dealers, who are every day publishing their thoughts either on paper or in
 6 their

their assemblies for improving the trade of Ireland, and referring us to the practice and example of England, Holland, France, or other nations.

I shall therefore examine certain Maxims of government, which generally pass for uncontrolled in the world, and consider how far they will suit with the present condition of this kingdom.

First, it is affirmed by wise men, that the dearness of things necessary for life, in a fruitful country, is a certain sign of wealth and great commerce: For, when such necessaries are dear, it must absolutely follow that money is cheap and plentiful.

But this is manifestly false in Ireland, for the following reason. Some years ago, the species of money here, did probably amount to six or seven hundred thousand pounds; and I have good cause to believe, that our remittances then did not much exceed the cash brought in to us. But the prodigious discouragements we have since received in every branch of our trade, by the frequent enforcements, and rigorous execution of the navigation act, the tyranny of under custom-house officers, the yearly addition of absentees, the payments to regiments abroad, to civil and military officers residing in England, the unexpected sudden demands of great sums from the treasury, and some other drains of perhaps as great consequence, we now see ourselves reduced to a state (since we have no friends) of being pitied by our enemies, at least, if our enemies were of such a kind as to be capable of any regards towards us, except of hatred and contempt.

Forty years are now passed since the Revolution, when the contention of the British empire was, most unfortunately for us, and altogether against the usual course of such mighty changes in government, decided in the least important nation, but with such ravages and ruin executed on both sides, as to leave the kingdom a desert, which, in some sort, it still continues. Neither did the long rebellions in 1641 make half such a destruction of houses, plantations, and personal wealth, in both

kingdoms, as two years campaigns did in ours, by fighting England's battles.

By slow degrees, and by the gentle treatment we received under two auspicious reigns, we grew able to live without running in debt. Our absentees were but few, we had great indulgence in trade, a considerable share in employments of church and state; and, while the short leases continued, which were let some years after the war ended, tenants paid their rents with ease and chearfulness, to the great regret of their landlords, who had taken up a spirit of oppression that is not easily removed. And although, in these short leases, the rent was gradually to increase after short periods; yet, as soon as the term elapsed, the land was let to the highest bidder, most commonly without the least effectual clause for building or planting. Yet by many advantages, which this island then possessed, and hath since utterly lost, the rents of lands still grew higher upon every lease that expired, till they have arrived at the present exorbitance; when the frog, overflowing himself, burst at last.

With the price of land, of necessity rose that of corn and cattle, and all other commodities that farmers deal in: Hence likewise, obviously, the rates of all goods and manufactures among shopkeepers, the wages of servants, and hire of labourers. But, although our miseries came on fast with neither trade nor money left, yet neither will the landlord abate in his rent, nor can the tenant abate in the price of what that rent must be paid with, nor any shopkeeper, tradesman, or labourer live at lower expence, for food and clothing, than he did before.

I have been the larger upon this first head, because the same observations will clear up and strengthen a good deal of what I shall affirm upon the rest.

The second Maxim of those who reason upon trade and government, is to assert, that low interest is a certain sign of great plenty of money in a nation, for which, as in many other articles, they produce the examples of Holland and England.

But,

But, with relation to Ireland, this Maxim is likewise entirely false.

There are two reasons for the lowness of interest in any country. First, that which is usually alleged, the great plenty of species; and this is obvious. The second is the want of trade, which seldom falls under common observation, although it be equally true. For, where trade is altogether discouraged, there are few borrowers. In those countries where men can employ a large stock, the young merchant, whose fortune may be four or five hundred pounds, will venture to borrow as much more, and can afford a reasonable interest. Neither is it easy at this day to find many of those, whose business reaches to employ even so inconsiderable a sum, except among the importers of wine; who, as they have most part of the present trade in these parts of Ireland in their hands, so they are the most exorbitant, exacting, fraudulent dealers, that ever trafficked in any nation, and are making all possible speed to ruin both themselves and the nation.

From this defect, of gentlemens not knowing how to dispose of their ready money, ariseth the high purchase of lands, which in all other countries is reckoned a sign of wealth. For, the frugal squires, who live below their incomes, have no other way to dispose of their savings but by mortgage or purchase, by which the rates of land must naturally encrease; and, if this trade continues long under the uncertainty of rents, the landed men of ready money will find it more for their advantage to send their cash to England, and place it in the funds, which I myself am determined to do, the first considerable sum I shall be master of.

It hath likewise been a Maxim among politicians, that the great encrease of buildings in the metropolis argues a flourishing state. But this, I confess, hath been controlled from the example of London; where, by the long and annual parliamentary sessions, such a number of senators, with their families, friends, adherents, and expectants, draw such prodigious numbers to that city, that the old hospitable custom of lords and

gentlemen living in their antient seats, among their tenants, is almost lost in England; is laughed out of doors; in so much that, in the middle of summer, a legal House of Lords and Commons might be brought in a few hours to London from their country villas within twelve miles round.

The case in Ireland is yet somewhat worse: For the absentees of great estates, who, if they lived at home, would have many rich retainers in their neighbourhoods, having learned to rack their lands, and shorten their leases, as much as any residing squire; and the few remaining of these latter, having some vain hope of employments for themselves or their children, and discouraged by the beggarliness and thievery of their own miserable farmers and cottagers, or seduced by the vanity of their wives, on pretence of their children's education, (whereof the fruits are so apparent) together with that most wonderful and yet more unaccountable zeal for a seat in their assembly, though at some years purchase of their whole estates. These, and some other motives better let pass, have drawn such a concourse to this beggarly city, that the dealers of the several branches of building have found out all the commodious and inviting places for erecting new houses, while fifteen hundred of the old ones, which is a seventh part of the whole city, are said to be left uninhabited, and falling to ruin. Their method is the same with that which was first introduced by Doctor Barebone at London, who died a bankrupt. The mason, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the slater, and the glazier, take a lot of ground, club to build one or more houses, unite their credit, their stock, and their money, and when their work is finished, sell it to the best advantage they can. But, as it often happens, and more every day, that their fund will not answer half their design, they are forced to undersell it at the first story, and are all reduced to beggary. In so much that I know a certain fanatic brewer*, who is reported to have some hundreds of houses in this town, is said to have pur-

* Leeson.

chased the greater part of them at half value from ruined undertakers, hath intelligence of all new houses where the finishing is at a stand, takes advantage of the builder's distress, and, by the advantage of ready money, gets fifty *per cent.* at least for his bargain.

It is another undisputed Maxim in government, that people are the riches of a nation; which is so universally granted, that it will be hardly pardonable to bring it in doubt. And I will grant it to be so far true, even in this island, that, if we had the African custom or privilege, of selling our useless bodies for slaves to foreigners, it would be the most useful branch of our trade, by ridding us of a most unsupportable burthen, and bringing us money in the stead. But, in our present situation, at least five children in six who are born lie a dead weight upon us for want of employment. And a very skilful computer assured me, that above one half of the souls in this kingdom supported themselves by begging and thievery, whereof two thirds would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth. Trade is the only incitement to labour: Where that fails, the poorer native must either beg, steal, or starve, or be forced to quit his country. This hath made me often wish, for some years past, that, instead of discouraging our people from seeking foreign soil, that the public would rather pay for transporting all our unnecessary mortals, whether Papists or Protestants, to America, as drawbacks are sometimes allowed for exporting commodities where a nation is overstocked. I confess myself to be touched with a very sensible pleasure, when I hear of a mortality in any country-parish or village, where the wretches are forced to pay for a filthy cabin and two ridges of potatoes treble the worth, brought up to steal or beg, for want of work, to whom death would be the best thing to be wished for, on account both of themselves and the public.

Among all taxes imposed by the legislature, those upon luxury are universally allowed to be the most equitable and beneficial to the subject; and the commonest reasoner on government might

might fill a volume with arguments on the subject. Yet here again, by the singular fate of Ireland, this maxim is utterly false; and the putting it in practice may have such pernicious a consequence, as I certainly believe the thoughts of the proposers were not able to reach.

The miseries we suffer by our absentees are of a far more extensive nature than seems to be commonly understood. I must vindicate myself to the reader so far, as to declare solemnly that what I shall say of those lords and squires, doth not arise from the least regard I have for their understandings, their virtues, or their persons. For, although I have not the honour of the least acquaintance with any one among them, (my ambition not soaring so high) yet I am too good a witness of the situation they have been in for thirty years past, the veneration paid them by the people, the high esteem they are in among the prime nobility and gentry, the particular marks of favour and distinction they receive from the court: The weight and consequence of their interest, added to their great zeal and application for preventing any hardships their country might suffer from England, wisely considering that their own fortunes and honours were embarked in the same bottom,



SENT TO
DOCTOR SWIFT,
BY
A QUAKER,

When three hundred pounds were bid for taking up the
DRAPIER.

1 SAM. Chap. xiv. Ver. 45.

"AND the people said unto Saul, Shall Jonathan die,
"who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel? God
"forbid: As the LORD liveth, there shall not one hair of his
"head fall to the ground; for he wrought, with GOD this
"day. So the people rescued Jonathan, that he died not."



A
 LETTER from Sir JOHN BROWNE
 TO
 DOCTOR SWIFT.

REVEREND SIR,

Dawson-Street, April 4, 1728.

BY a strange fatality, though you were the only person in the world from whom I would conceal my being an author, yet you were unaccountably the only one let into the secret of it: The ignorant poor man, who was entrusted by me to deliver out the little books, though he kept the secret from all others, yet from the nature of the subject, he concluded that I could have no interest in concealing it from you, who were so universally known to be an indefatigable promoter of the general welfare of Ireland. But, though the accident gave me some uneasiness at first; yet, when I consider your character, I cannot doubt (however slender the foundation of such a hope may be from any merits of my own) but your generosity will oblige you to conceal what chance has revealed to you, and incline you to judge of me, not from the report of my enemies, but from what I appear in the little tracts which have waited on you.

I shall not presume, Sir, to detain you with the narrative of the original, and progress of the parliamentary accusations and votes against me; although, would you do me the honour to enquire, I could easily convince you from my own particular case, that men have two characters, one which is either good or bad, according to the prevailing number of their friends or enemies, and one which never varies for either: One which has little or no regard to the virtue or vice of the subject,

ject, and one which regards that alone, is inherent (if I may say so) in the subject, and describes it what it really is, without regard either to friends or enemies.

All I shall beg of you, is to suspend your judgment upon it, since all parties allow that although I had several summons from the Committee for Monday, and many evidences on the road in obedience to their summons, yet I was tied down by the Committee the preceding Saturday, and deprived of the benefit of all my evidences, notwithstanding any thing I could urge to the contrary. This I hope I may say without injury to Mr. Bingham: For sure he may be intirely innocent, and yet a magistrate under the immediate direction of the Lord Chief-Justice who takes examinations against him: Examinations that do not even contain matter to form an indictment upon, may be innocent also.

It shall suffice therefore to say, I went from Ireland loaded with the severest censures of the House of Commons: Injured, as I thought, and oppressed to the greatest degree imaginable, robbed of that character which was dearer to me than life itself; and all that by an overbearing, overpowering interest.

I fought, in England, for that peace and protection which was denied me at home. My public character followed me: My countrymen avoided me. The nature of man is sociable: I was forced to herd with strangers. A Prime Minister, engaged in the success of a scheme, wants no emissaries to spy out all that makes for him, and to fly with what they have found to their employer. I was unfortunately set by those sort of creatures: My sentiments on the state of our money-matters were industriously sifted through me; and when that was done, before I knew any thing of the matter, I was served with his Majesty's summons: In a hurry I ran out of town, and staid in the country a while; but, on my return again, found another summons at my lodgings; and, terrified by the dismal effects of power at home from risking a second shipwreck abroad, I yielded to it, and appeared at the Cockpit.

It is true my appearance at the Cockpit, to those who knew me only by the votes of the House of Commons, must have looked

like a design of revenge; and I had many and powerful enemies, who gave all my actions the worst colour. But, to take the matter impartially, Sir, is there no allowance to be made for a mind already broken by the dismal effects of prevailing power, and filled with the apprehensions of second dangers? Is there no allowance for a man, young in the knowledge of the world, under all these fears and misfortunes, if he has yielded to the repeated summons of the Council of England, in which his Majesty was present, and if he was there, after a long and strenuous opposition, forced to tell his sentiments? Forced, Sir, to tell his sentiments, not in the manner represented to the world, but in a manner the most cautious of giving room for a pretence to oppose the inclinations of our parliament.

But, alas, the consequence! You, Sir, the defender of Ireland, were soon engaged against me on that account; and that fatal genius of yours, in an instant, ruined my character; but even ruin-bearing as it was, I blessed it: The cause which you undertook was dear to me; and though fame is the last thing which one would sacrifice even for his country, yet I parted with that with pleasure, whilst you thought it necessary for the public good so to do: But now the end is served, Dear Sir, may not the man have his mare again?

Plato being told that certain persons aspersed his character, and represented him abroad as a very ill man; instead of expostulating with his enemies, and returning reproach for reproach, concealed himself, saying, *No matter, my friends, the whole life of Plato shall give his accusers the lie.*

Could I set before me a greater example? Under the general displeasure of my country, under all the censures which the restless malice of my enemies could devise, and under the keen edge of the Drapier's wit; the only revenge I indulged myself, was by a steady love for my country, and by manifest acts of affection thereto, to be a silent reproach to the foul tongues of my enemies.

Permit then, Sir, permit me in peace to take his great example; and no longer give way to the power of my enemies,

by continuing to oppress me. They have already gained their cause by you: But I must say, it was not the sword of Ajax, but the armour of Achilles which he put on, that won the day.

The cause for which you undertook my ruin, was the cause of my country: It was a good cause, and you shall ever find me of that side. You have carried it, and I know you will no longer be my enemy. But alas! Sir, as long as your works subsist, where ever they be read, even unto the end of time, must I be branded as a villain. It is a hard sentence; and yet unless the spear of Achilles, the same instrument which gave the wound, administer the remedy, it must be so.

In short, Sir, you must be a man of honour: It is not possible that honour should be wanting where all the distinguishing characteristics of it are found: I cannot doubt it; and therefore I will let you fully into a secret which accident has given you a part of, and I am sure you will keep it.

The source of all my misfortunes was the vote of the House of Commons; but I have laboured however, as I always shall, to serve my country and make myself agreeable to them: And though the misfortune of a bad public character deprived me of the private conversation of my countrymen, which is the surest and best way to know our true interest; yet I flatter myself that my little Essays may be useful, at least they may be no bad beginning: And you know it is easy to add to a work once begun. But if the work is known to be mine, the very name will condemn it, and render it useless to my country.

Whatever the faults may be, I have publicly applied to you to amend them, before the bearer's mistake made me determine this private application to you: And I must say, that I shall reckon it no small degree of honour, if you take that trouble upon you.

In the mean-time I shall beg the favour of you, to keep a secret which no other person but my printer, my bookseller, and the bearer knows. I am, REVEREND SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN BROWNE.

A
L E T T E R
O N

Mr. M'CULLA's Project about HALFPENCE, and a new
one proposed.

WRITTEN IN MDCCXXIX.

SIR,

YOU desire to know my opinion concerning Mr. M'Culla's project, of circulating notes stamped on copper, that shall pass for the value of Halfpence and Pence. I have some knowledge of the man; and, about a month ago, he brought me his book, with a couple of his halfpenny notes: But I was then out of order, and he could not be admitted. Since that time I called at his house, where I discoursed the whole affair with him as thoroughly as I could. I am altogether a stranger to his character. He talked to me in the usual style, with a great profession of zeal for the public good; which is the common cant of all projectors in their bills, from a first minister of state down to a corn-cutter. But, I stopped him short, as I would have done a better man; because it is too gross a practice to pass at any time, and especially in this age, where we all know one another so well. Yet, whoever proposeth any scheme, which may prove to be a public benefit, I shall not quarrel, if it prove likewise very beneficial to himself. It is certain, that, next to the want of silver, our greatest distress in point of coin is the want of small change, which may be some poor relief for the defect of the former, since the crown will not please to take that work upon them here as they do in England.

England. One thing in Mr. M'Culla's book is certainly right, that no law hinders me from giving a payable note upon leather, wood, copper, brass, iron, or any other material (except gold and silver) as well as upon paper. The question is, whether I can sue him on a copper bond, where there is neither hand nor seal, nor witnesses to prove it. To supply this, he hath proposed, that the materials upon which his note is written shall be in some degree of value equal to the debt. But that is one principal matter to be enquired into. His scheme is this:

He gives you a piece of copper for a halfpenny or penny, stamped with a promissory note to pay you twenty pence for every pound of copper notes, whenever you shall return them. Eight and forty of these halfpenny pieces are to weigh a pound, and he sells you that pound, coined and stamped, for two shillings; by which he clearly gains a little more than 16 *per cent.* that is to say, two pence in every shilling.

This will certainly arise to a great sum, if he should circulate as large a quantity of his notes as the kingdom, under the great dearth of silver, may very probably require: Enough indeed to make any Irish tradesman's fortune; which, however, I should not repine at in the least, if we could be sure of his fair dealing. It was obvious for me to raise the common objection, why Mr. M'Culla would not give security to pay the whole sum to any man who returned him his copper notes, as my Lord Dartmouth and Colonel Moor were by their patents obliged to do. To which he gave me some answers plausible enough. First, he conceived that his coins were much nearer to the intrinsic value than any of those coined by patents, the bulk and goodness of the metal equalling the best English halfpence made by the Crown. That he apprehended the ill-will of envious and designing people, who, if they found him to have a great vent for his notes, since he wanted the protection of a patent, might make a run upon him which he could not be able to support. And, lastly, that his copper, as is already said, being equal in value and bulk to the English halfpence, he did not apprehend they should ever be returned, unless a combination,

combination, proceeding from spite and envy, might be formed against him.

But there are some points in his proposal which I cannot well answer for, nor do I know whether he will be able to do it himself. The first is, whether the copper he gives us will be as good as what the Crown provided for the English halfpence and farthings? And, secondly, whether he will always continue to give us as good? And, thirdly, when he will think fit to stop his hand; and give us no more? For I should be as sorry to be at the mercy of Mr. M'Culla, as of Mr. Wood.

There is another difficulty of the last importance. It is known enough that the Crown is supposed to be neither gainer nor loser by the coinage of any metal: For they subtract, or ought to subtract no more from the intrinsic value than what will just pay the charges of the mint; and how much that will amount to is the question. By what I could gather from Mr. M'Culla, good copper is worth fourteen pence *per* pound. By this computation, if he sells his copper notes for two shillings the pound, and will pay twenty pence back, then the expence of coinage for one pound of copper must be six pence, which is 30 *per cent.* The world should be particularly satisfied on this article, before he vends his notes: For the discount of 30 *per cent.* is prodigious, and vastly more than I can conceive it ought to be. For, if we add to that proportion the 16 *per cent.* which he avows to keep for his own profit, there will be a discount of about 46 *per cent.* Or, to reckon I think a fairer way; whoever buys a pound of Mr. M'Culla's coin, at two shillings *per* pound, carries home only the real value of fourteen pence, which is a pound of copper; and thus he is a loser of 41 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *per cent.* But, however, this high discount of 30 *per cent.* will be no objection against M'Culla's proposal; because, if the charge of coinage will honestly amount to so much, and we suppose his copper notes may be returned upon him, he will be the greater sufferer of the two; because the buyer can lose but four pence in a pound, and M'Culla must lose sixpence, which was the charge of the coinage.

Upon

PROJECT ABOUT HALFPENCE. 151

Upon the whole, there are some points which must be settled to the general satisfaction, before we can safely take Mr. M'Culla's copper notes for value received; and how he will give that satisfaction, is not within my knowledge or conjecture. The first point is, That we shall be always sure of receiving good copper, equal in bulk and fineness to the best English halfpence.

The second point is, to know what allowance he makes to himself, either out of the weight or mixture of his copper, or both, for the charge of coinage. As to the weight, the matter is easy by his own scheme: For, as I have said before, he proposes forty-eight to weigh a pound, which he gives you for two shillings, and receives it by the pound at twenty pence: So that, supposing pure copper to be fourteen pence a pound, he makes you pay 30 *per cent.* for the labour of coining, as I have already observed, besides 16 *per cent.* when he sells it. But, if to this he adds any alloy, to debase the metal, although it be not above 10 *per cent.* then Mr. M'Culla's promissory notes will, to the intrinsic value of the metal, be above 47 *per cent.* discount.

For, subtracting 10 *per cent.* off 60 *l.* worth of copper, it will (to avoid fractions) be about five and a half *per cent.* in the whole 100 *l.* which, added to

—	—	—	—	—	41	13	4
					5	10	0
will be <i>per cent.</i>					47	3	4

That we are under great distress for change, and that Mr. M'Culla's copper notes, on supposition of the metal being pure, is less liable to objection than the project of Wood, may be granted; but such a discount, where we are not sure even of our twenty pence a pound, appears hitherto a dead weight on his scheme.

Since I writ this, calling to mind that I had some copper halfpence by me, I weighed them with those of Mr. M'Culla, and observed as follows.

First,

First, I weighed Mr. M'Culla's halfpenny against an English one of King Charles II. which outweighed Mr. M'Culla's a fourth part, or 25 *per cent.*

I likewise weighed an Irish Patrick and David halfpenny, which outweighed Mr. M'Culla's $12\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* It had a very fair and deep impression, and milled very skilfully round.

I found that even a common Harp halfpenny, well preserved, weighed equal to Mr. M'Culla's. And even some of Wood's halfpence were near equal in weight to his. Therefore, if it be true that he does not think Wood's copper to have been faulty, he may probably give us no better.

I have laid these loose thoughts together with little order, to give you, and others who may read them, an opportunity of digesting them better. I am no enemy to Mr. M'Culla's project, but I would have it put upon a better foot. I own that this halfpenny of King Charles II. which I weighed against Mr. M'Culla's, was of the fairest kind I had seen. However, it is plain the Crown could afford it without being a loser. But it is probable, that the officers of the mint were then more honest than they have since thought fit to be; for I confess not to have met those of any other year so weighty, or in appearance of so good metal, among all the copper coins of the three last reigns; yet these, however, did much outweigh those of Mr. M'Culla; for I have tried the experiment on a hundred of them. I have indeed seen accidentally one or two very light, but it must certainly have been done by chance, or rather, I suppose them to be counterfeits. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands, that good copper was never known to be cheaper than it is at present. I am ignorant of the price, further than by his informing me that it is only fourteen pence a pound; by which I observe he charges the coinage at 30 *per cent.* And therefore I cannot but think his demands are exorbitant. But, to say the truth, the dearth or cheapness of the metal do not properly enter into the question. What we desire is, that it should be of the best kind, and as weighty as can be afforded; that the profit of the contriver should be reduced

duced from 16 to 8 *per cent.* and the charge of coinage, if possible, from 30 to 10, or 15 at most.

Mr. M'Culla must also give good security that he will coin only a determinate sum, not exceeding twenty thousand pounds; by which, although he should deal with all uprightness imaginable, and make his coin as good as that I weighed of King Charles II.; he will, at 16 *per cent.* gain three thousand two hundred pounds: A very good additional job to a private tradesman's fortune.

I must advise him also to employ better workmen, and make his impressions deeper and plainer, by which a rising rim may be left about the edge of his coin, to preserve the letter from wearing out too soon. He hath no wardens nor masters, or other officers of the mint to suck up his profit; and, therefore, can afford to coin cheaper than the Crown, if he will but find good materials, proper implements, and skilful workmen.

Whether this project will succeed in Mr. M'Culla's hands, (which, if it be honestly executed, I should be glad to see;) one thing I am confident of, that it might be easily brought to perfection by a society of nine or ten honest gentlemen of fortune, who wish well to their country, and would be content to be neither gainers nor losers, further than the bare interest of their money. And Mr. M'Culla, as being the first starter of the scheme, might be considered and rewarded by such a society; whereof, although I am not a man of fortune, I should think it an honour and happiness to be one, even with borrowed money upon the best security I could give. And, first, I am confident, without any skill but by general reason, that the charge of coining copper would be very much less than 30 *per cent.* Secondly, I believe ten thousand pounds, in halfpence and farthings, would be sufficient for the whole kingdom, even under our great and most unnecessary distress for the want of silver; and that, without such a distress, half the sum would suffice.

For I compute and reason thus: The city of Dublin, by a gross computation, contains ten thousand families; and, I am

told by shopkeepers, that, if silver were as plenty as usual, two shillings in copper would be sufficient, in the course of business, for each family; but, in consideration of the want of silver, I would allow five shillings to each family, which would amount to 2,500 *l.*; and, to help this, I would recommend a currency of all the genuine undefaced harp-halfpence, which are left of Lord Dartmouth's and Moor's patents under King Charles II.; and the small Patrick and David for farthings. To the rest of the kingdom, I would assign the 7,500 *l.* remaining; reckoning Dublin to answer one fourth of the kingdom, as London is judged to answer (if I mistake not) one third of England; I mean in the view of money only.

To compute our want of small change by the number of souls in the kingdom, besides being perplexed, is, I think, by no means just. They have been reckoned at a million and a half, whereof a million at least are beggars, in all circumstances except that of wandring about for alms, and that circumstance may arrive soon enough, when it will be time to add another ten thousand pounds in copper. But, without doubt, the families of Ireland, who lie chiefly under the difficulties of wanting small change, cannot be above forty or fifty thousand; which the sum of ten thousand pounds, with the addition of the fairest old halfpence, would tolerably supply. For, if we give too great a loose to any projector to pour in upon us what he pleases, the kingdom will be (how shall I express it under our present circumstances?) more than undone.

And hence appears, in a very strong light, the villany of Wood, who proposed the coinage of one hundred and eighty thousand pounds in copper, for the use of Ireland; whereby every family in the kingdom would be laden with ten or a dozen shillings, although Wood might not transgress the bounds of his patent, and although no counterfeits, either at home or abroad, were added to the number; the contrary to both which would indubitably have arrived. So ill-informed are great men on the other side, who talk of a million with as little ceremony as we do of half a crown.

But,

But, to return to the proposal I have made: Suppose ten gentlemen, lovers of their country, should raise 200*l.* apiece; and, from the time the money is deposited as they shall agree, should begin to charge it with seven *per cent.* for their own use: That they should as soon as possible provide a mint and good workmen, and buy copper sufficient for coining two thousand pounds, subtracting a fifth part of the interest of ten thousand pounds for the charges of the tools, and fitting up a place for a mint; the other four parts of the same interest to be subtracted equally out of the four remaining coinages of 2000*l.* each, with a just allowance for other necessary incidents. Let the charge of coinage be fairly reckoned, and the kingdom informed of it, as well as of the price of copper. Let the coin be as well and deeply stamped as it ought. Let the metal be as pure as can consist to have it rightly coined, (wherein I am wholly ignorant) and the bulk as large as that of King Charles II. And let this club of ten gentlemen give their joint security to receive all the coins they issue out for seven or ten years, and return gold and silver without any defalcation.

Let the same club or company, when they have issued out the first two thousand pounds, go on the second year, if they find a demand, and that their scheme hath answered to their own intention as well as to the satisfaction of the public. And, if they find 7 *per cent.* not sufficient, let them subtract 8, beyond which I would not have them go. And, when they have, in two years, coined ten thousand pounds, let them give public notice that they will proceed no farther, but shut up their mint, and dismiss their workmen: Unless the real, universal, unsolicited declaration of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, shall signify a desire that they should go on for a certain sum farther. This company may enter into certain regulations among themselves, one of which should be, to keep nothing concealed, and duly to give an account to the world of their whole methods of acting.

Give me leave to compute, wholly at random, what charge the kingdom will be at, by the loss of intrinsic value in the

coinage of 10,000 *l.* in copper, under the management of such a society of gentlemen.

First, It is plain, that, instead of somewhat more than 16 *per cent.* as demanded by Mr. M'Culla, this society desires but 8 *per cent.*

Secondly, Whereas Mr. M'Culla charges the expence of coinage at 30 *per cent.* I hope and believe this society will be able to perform it at 10.

Thirdly, Whereas it doth not appear that Mr. M'Culla can give any security for the goodness of his copper, because not one in ten thousand have the skill to distinguish; the society will be all engaged that theirs shall be of the best standard.

Fourthly, That, whereas Mr. M'Culla's halfpence are one fourth part lighter than that kind coined in the time of King Charles II. these gentlemen will oblige themselves to the public, to give the coin of the same weight and goodness with those halfpence, unless they shall find they cannot afford it; and, in that case, they shall beforehand inform the public, shew their reasons, and signify how large they can make them without being losers; and so give over or pursue their scheme, as they find the opinion of the world to be. However, I do not doubt but they can afford them as large, and of as good metal, as the best English halfpence that have been coined in the three last reigns, which very much outweigh those of Mr. M'Culla. And this advantage will arise in proportion, by lessening the charge of coinage from 30 *per cent.* to 10 or 15, or 20 at most. But I confess myself in the dark on that article; only I think it impossible it should amount to any proportion near 30 *per cent.* otherwise the coiners of those counterfeit halfpence, called *Raps*, would have little encouragement to follow their trade.

But the indubitable advantages by having the management in such a society would be, the paying 8 *per cent.* instead of 16, the being sure of the goodness and just weight of the coin, and the period to be put to any further coinage than what was absolutely necessary to supply the wants and desires of the kingdom.

kingdom: And all this under the security of ten gentlemen of credit and fortune, who would be ready to give the best security and satisfaction, that they had no design to turn the scheme into a job.

As to any mistakes I have made in computation, they are of little moment; and I shall not descend so low as to justify them against any caviller.

The strongest objection against what I offer, and which perhaps may make it appear visionary, is the difficulty to find half a score gentlemen, who, out of a public spirit, will be at the trouble, for no more profit than one *per cent.* above the legal interest, to be overseers of a mint for five years; and perhaps, without any justice, raise the clamour of the people against them. Besides, it is most certain that many a squire is as fond of a job, and as dextrous to make the best of it, as Mr. McCulla himself, or any of his level. However, I do not doubt but there may be ten such persons in this town, if they had only some visible mark to know them at sight. Yet I just foresee another inconveniency: That knavish men are fitter to deal with others of their own denomination; while those who are honest and best intentioned, may be the instruments of as much mischief to the public, for want of cunning, as the greatest knaves; and more, because of the charitable opinion which they are apt to have of others. Therefore, how to join the prudence of the serpent with the innocency of the dove in this affair, is the most difficult point. It is not so hard to find an honest man, as to make this honest man active, and vigilant, and skilful; which I doubt will require a spur of profit greater than my scheme will afford him, unless he will be contented with the honour of serving his country, and the reward of a good conscience.

After reviewing what I had written, I see very well that I have not given any allowance for the first charge of preparing all things necessary for coining, which, I am told, will amount to about 200*l.* besides 20*l.* *per annum* for five years rent of a house to work in. I can only say, that this making in all 300*l.* it will be an addition of no more than 3 *per cent.* out of 10,000*l.*

But

But the great advantages to the public, by having the coinage placed in the hands of ten gentlemen, such as I have already described, (if such are to be found) are these:

First, They propose no other gain to themselves than 1 *per cent.* above the legal interest for the money they advance; which will hardly afford them coffee when they meet at their mint-house.

Secondly, They bind themselves to make their coins of as good copper as the best English halfpence, and as well coined, and of equal weight: And do likewise bind themselves to charge the public with not one farthing for the expence of coinage, more than it shall really stand them in.

Thirdly, They will, for a limited term of seven or ten years, as shall be thought proper upon mature consideration, pay gold and silver, without any defalcation, for all their own coin that shall be returned upon their hands.

Fourthly, They will take care that the coins shall have a deep impression, leaving a rising rim on both sides, to prevent their being defaced in a long time; and the edges shall be milled.

I suppose they need not be very apprehensive of counterfeits, which will be difficult to make so as not to be discovered: For it is plain that those bad halfpence, called *Raps*, are so easily distinguished, even from the most worn genuine halfpenny, that nobody will now take them for a farthing, although under the great present want of change.

I shall here subjoin some computations relating to Mr. M'Culla's copper notes. They were sent to me by a person well skilled in such calculations, and therefore I refer them to the reader.

Mr. M'Culla charges good copper at fourteen pence *per* pound, but I know not whether he means Avoirdupois or Troy weight.

Avoirdupois is 16 ounces to a pound - - - 6960 grains.

A pound Troy weight - - - - - 5760 grains.

Mr. M'Culla's copper is fourteen pence *per* pound avoirdupois.

Two of Mr. M'Culla's penny-notes, one with
 another, weigh - - - - - 524 grains.
 By which computation, 2 s. of his notes, which
 he sells for 1 lb. weight, will weigh - - 6288 grains.
 But 1 lb. avoirdupois weighs, as above, - - - 6960 grains.

This difference makes 10 *per cent.* to Mr. M'Culla's profit, in
 point of weight.

The old Patrick and David halfpenny weighs - - 149 grains.
 Mr. M'Culla's halfpenny weighs - - - - - 131 grains.

The difference is - - - - - 18

Which is equal to, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.*

The English halfpenny of King Charles II.
 weighs - - - - - 167 grains.
 M'Culla's halfpenny weighs - - - - - 131 grains.

The difference - - - - - 36

Which difference allowed a fifth part is 20 *per cent.*

Another Computation.

Mr. M'Culla allows his pound of copper (coinage included)
 to be worth twenty pence, for which he demands two shillings.

His coinage he computes at six pence *per* pound weight; there-
 fore, he laying out only twenty pence, and gaining four pence,
 he makes *per cent.* profit - - - - - 20

The six pence *per* pound weight, allowed for
 coinage, makes *per cent.* - - - - - 30

The want of weight in his halfpenny, com-
 pared as above, is *per cent.* - - - - - 10

By all which, (*viz.* coinage, profit, and want of weight) } 60
 the public loses *per cent.* - - - - -

If Mr. M'Culla's coins will not pass, and he refuses to receive
 them back, the owner cannot sell them at above twelve-pence *per*
 pound weight; whereby, with the defect of weight of 10 *per*
cent. he will lose 60 *per cent.*

The

The scheme of the society, raised as high as it can possibly be, will be only thus:

For interest of their money, <i>per cent.</i>	- - - - -	8
For coinage, instead of 10, suppose, at most, <i>per cent.</i>	- - -	20
For 300 <i>l.</i> laid out for tools, a mint, and house-rent, charge 3 <i>per cent.</i> upon the coinage of 10,000 <i>l.</i>	- - -	3
Charges in all upon interest, coinage, &c. <i>per cent.</i>	- - -	<u>31</u>

Which, with all the advantages above mentioned of the goodness of the metal, the largeness of the coin, the deepness and fairness of the impression, the assurance of the society confining itself to such a sum as they undertake, or as the kingdom shall approve; and, lastly, their paying in gold or silver for all their coin returned upon their hands, without any defalcation, would be of mighty benefit to the kingdom; and, with a little steadiness and activity, could, I doubt not, be easily compassed.

I would not in this scheme recommend the method of promissory notes after Mr. M'Culla's manner; but, as I have seen in old Irish coins, the words *Civitas Dublin* on one side, with the year of our Lord, and the Irish Harp, on the reverse.



DOING GOOD:

A
SERMON,

On the Occasion of WOOD'S PROJECT.

Written in the Year MDCCXXIV.

GALATIANS VI. 10.

As we have therefore opportunity, let us do Good unto all men.

NATURE directs every one of us, and God permits us, to consult our own private Good before the private Good of any other person whatsoever. We are, indeed, commanded to love our neighbour as ourselves, but not as well as ourselves. The love we have for ourselves is to be the pattern of that love we ought to have towards our neighbour: But, as the copy doth not equal the original, so my neighbour cannot think it hard, if I prefer myself, who am the original, before him, who is only the copy. Thus, if any matter equally concern the life, the reputation, the profit of my neighbour, and my own; the law of nature, which is the law of God, obligeth me to take care of myself first, and afterwards of him. And this I need not be at much pains in persuading you to; for the want of self-love, with regard to things of this world, is not among the faults of mankind. But then, on the other side, if, by a small hurt and loss to myself, I can procure a great good to my neighbour, in that case his interest is to be preferred. For example, if I can be sure of saving his life, without great danger to my own; if I can preserve him from being undone,

without ruining myself, or recover his reputation without blasting mine; all this I am obliged to do: And, if I sincerely perform it, I do then obey the command of God, in loving my neighbour as myself.

But, beside this love we owe to every man in his particular capacity under the title of our neighbour, there is yet a duty of a more large extensive nature incumbent on us; which is, our love to our neighbour in his public capacity, as he is a member of that great body the commonwealth, under the same government with ourselves; and this is usually called love of the public, and is a duty to which we are more strictly obliged than even that of loving ourselves; because therein ourselves are also contained, as well as all our neighbours, in one great body. This love of the public, or of the commonwealth, or love of our country, was in antient times properly known by the name of *Virtue*, because it was the greatest of all virtues, and was supposed to contain all virtues in it: And many great examples of this virtue are left us on record, scarcely to be believed, or even conceived, in such a base, corrupted, wicked age as this we live in. In those times it was common for men to sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, although they had neither hope or belief of future rewards; whereas, in our days, very few make the least scruple of sacrificing a whole nation, as well as their own souls, for a little present gain; which often hath been known to end in their own ruin in this world, as it certainly must in that to come.

Have we not seen men, for the sake of some petty employment, give up the very natural rights and liberties of their country, and of mankind, in the ruin of which themselves must at last be involved? Are not these corruptions gotten among the meanest of our people, who, for a piece of money, will give their votes at a venture, for the disposal of their own lives and fortunes, without considering whether it be to those who are most likely to betray or defend them? But, if I were to produce only one instance of a hundred wherein we fail

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in this duty of loving our country, it would be an endless labour; and therefore I shall not attempt it.

But here I would not be misunderstood: By the love of our country I do not mean loyalty to our King, for that is a duty of another nature; and a man may be very loyal, in the common sense of the word, without one grain of public-good at his heart. Witness this very kingdom we live in. I verily believe, that, since the beginning of the world, no nation upon earth ever shewed (all circumstances considered) such high constant marks of loyalty in all their actions and behaviour, as we have done: And, at the same time, no people ever appeared more utterly void of what is called a Public Spirit. When I say the people, I mean the bulk or mass of the people, for I have nothing to do with those in power.

Therefore I shall think my time not ill spent, if I can persuade most or all of you who hear me, to shew the love you have for your country, by endeavouring, in your several stations, to do all the public good you are able. For I am certainly persuaded, that all our misfortunes arise from no other original cause than that general disregard among us to the public welfare.

I therefore undertake to shew you three things.

First, That there are few people so weak or mean, who have it not sometimes in their power to be useful to the public.

Secondly, That it is often in the power of the meanest among mankind to do mischief to the public.

And, lastly, That all wilful injuries done to the public are very great and aggravated sins in the sight of God.

First, There are few people so weak or mean, who have it not sometimes in their power to be useful to the public.

Solomon tells us of a poor wise man who saved a city by his counsel. It hath often happened that a private soldier, by some unexpected brave attempt, hath been instrumental in obtaining a great victory. How many obscure men have been authors of very useful inventions, whereof the world now reaps the benefit? The very example of honesty and industry in a poor tradesman will sometimes spread through a neigh-

bourhood, when others see how successful he is; and thus so many useful members are gained, for which the whole body of the public is the better. Whoever is blessed with a true public spirit, God will certainly put it into his way to make use of that blessing, for the ends it was given him, by some means or other: And therefore it hath been observed in most ages, that the greatest actions, for the benefit of the commonwealth, have been performed by the wisdom or courage, the contrivance or industry, of particular men, and not of numbers; and that the safety of a kingdom hath often been owing to those hands from whence it was least expected.

But, secondly, it is often in the power of the meanest among mankind to do mischief to the public: And hence arise most of those miseries with which the states and kingdoms of the earth are infested. How many great princes have been murdered by the meanest ruffians? The weakest hand can open a flood-gate to drown a country, which a thousand of the strongest cannot stop. Those who have thrown off all regard for public good, will often have it in their way to do public evil, and will not fail to exercise that power whenever they can. The greatest blow given of late to this kingdom, was by the dishonesty of a few manufacturers; who, by imposing bad ware at foreign markets, in almost the only traffic permitted to us, did half ruin that trade; by which this poor unhappy kingdom now suffers in the midst of sufferings. I speak not here of persons in high stations, who ought to be free from all reflection, and are supposed always to intend the welfare of the community: But we now find by experience, that the meanest instrument may, by the concurrence of accidents, have it in his power to bring a whole kingdom to the very brink of destruction, and is, at this present, endeavouring to finish his work; and hath agents among ourselves, who are contented to see their own country undone, to be small sharers in that iniquitous gain, which at last must end in their own ruin as well as ours. I confess, it was chiefly the consideration of that great danger we are in, which engaged me to discourse to you on this subject;

ject; to exhort you to a love of your country, and a public spirit, when all you have is at stake; to prefer the interest of your prince and your fellow subjects before that of one destructive impostor, and a few of his adherents.

Perhaps it may be thought by some, that this way of discoursing is not so proper from the pulpit. But surely, when an open attempt is made, and far carried on, to make a great kingdom one large poorhouse, to deprive us of all means to exercise hospitality or charity, to turn our cities and churches into ruins, to make the country a desert for wild beasts and robbers, to destroy all arts and sciences, all trades and manufactures, and the very tillage of the ground, only to enrich one obscure ill-designing projector, and his followers; it is time for the pastor to cry out that the wolf is getting into his flock, to warn them to stand together, and all to consult the common safety. And God be praised for his infinite goodness in raising such a spirit of union among us, at least in this point, in the midst of all our former divisions; which union, if it continue, will, in all probability, defeat the pernicious design of this pestilent enemy to the nation.

But, from hence, it clearly follows how necessary the love of our country, or a public spirit, is in every particular man, since the wicked have so many opportunities of doing public mischief. Every man is upon his own guard for his private advantage; but, where the public is concerned, he is apt to be negligent, considering himself only as one among two or three millions, among whom the loss is equally shared, and thus, he thinks, he can be no great sufferer. Meanwhile the trader, the farmer, and the shop-keeper, complain of the hardness and deadness of the times, and wonder whence it comes; while it is, in a great measure, owing to their own folly, for want of that love of their country, and public spirit and firm union among themselves, which are so necessary to the prosperity of every nation.

Another method by which the meanest wicked man, may have it in his power to injure the public, is false accusation, whereof

whereof this kingdom hath afforded too many examples: Neither is it long since no man, whose opinions were thought to differ from those in fashion, could safely converse beyond his nearest friends, for fear of being sworn against, as a traitor, by those who made a traffic of perjury and subornation; by which the very peace of the nation was disturbed, and men fled from each other as they would from a lion or a bear got loose. And, it is very remarkable, that the pernicious project now in hand to reduce us to beggary, was forwarded by one of these false accusers, who had been convicted of endeavouring, by perjury and subornation, to take away the lives of several innocent persons here among us; and, indeed, there could not be a more proper instrument for such a work.

Another method by which the meanest people may do injury to the public, is the spreading of lies and false rumours, thus raising a distrust among the people of a nation, causing them to mistake their true interest, and their enemies for their friends: And this hath been likewise too successful a practice among us, where we have known the whole kingdom misled by the grossest lies, raised upon occasion to serve some particular turn. As it hath also happened in the case I lately mentioned, where one obscure man, by representing our wants where they were least, and concealing them where they were greatest, had almost succeeded in a project of utterly ruining this whole kingdom; and may still succeed, if God doth not continue that public spirit, which he hath almost miraculously kindled in us upon this occasion.

Thus we see the public is many times, as it were, at the mercy of the meanest instrument, who can be wicked enough to watch opportunities of doing it mischief, upon the principles of avarice or malice; which, I am afraid, are deeply rooted in too many breasts, and against which there can be no defence, but a firm resolution in all honest men, to be closely united and active in shewing their love to their country, by preferring the public interest to their present private advantage. If a passenger, in a great storm at sea, should hide his goods that they might
not

not be thrown over board to lighten the ship, what would be the consequence? The ship is cast away, and he loses his life and goods together.

We have heard of men, who, through greediness of gain, have brought infected goods into a nation, which bred a plague, whereof the owners and their families perished first. Let those among us consider this and tremble, whose houses are privately stored with those materials of beggary and desolation, lately brought over to be scattered like a pestilence among their countrymen, which may probably first seize upon themselves and their families, until their houses shall be made a dunghill.

I shall mention one practice more, by which the meanest instruments often succeed in doing public mischief; and this is by deceiving us with plausible arguments, to make us believe that the most ruinous project they can offer is intended for our good, as it happened in the case so often mentioned. For the poor ignorant people, allured by the appearing convenience in their small dealings, did not discover the serpent in the brass, but were ready, like the Israelites, to offer incense to it; neither could the wisdom of the nation convince them, until some, of good intentions, made the cheat so plain to their sight, that those who run may read. And thus the design was to treat us, in every point, as the Philistines treated Samson, (I mean when he was betrayed by Dalilah) first to put out our eyes, and then bind us with fetters of brass.

I proceed to the last thing I proposed, which was to shew you that all wilful injuries done to the public, are very great and aggravated sins in the sight of God.

First, It is apparent from Scripture, and most agreeable to reason, that the safety and welfare of nations are under the most peculiar care of God's providence. Thus he promised Abraham to save Sodom, if only ten righteous men could be found in it. Thus the reason which God gave to Jonas for not destroying Nineveh was, because there were six score thousand men in that city.

All

All government is from God, who is the God of order, and therefore whoever attempts to breed confusion or disturbance among a people, doth his utmost to take the government of the world out of God's hands, and to put it into the hands of the Devil, who is the author of confusion. By which it is plain, that no crime, how heinous soever, committed against particular persons, can equal the guilt of him who does injury to the public.

Secondly, All offenders against their country lie under this grievous difficulty, that it is next to impossible to obtain a pardon, or make restitution. The bulk of mankind are very quick at resenting injuries, and very slow in forgiving them: And how shall one man be able to obtain the pardon of millions, or repair the injuries he hath done to millions? How shall those, who, by a most destructive fraud, got the whole wealth of our neighbouring kingdom into their hands, be ever able to make a recompence? How will the authors and promoters of that villainous project, for the ruin of this poor country, be able to account with us for the injuries they have already done, although they should no farther succeed? The deplorable case of such wretches, must entirely be left to the unfathomable mercies of God: For those who know the least in religion are not ignorant that, without our utmost endeavours to make restitution to the person injured, and to obtain his pardon, added to a sincere repentance, there is no hope of salvation given in the Gospel.

Lastly, All offences against our own country have this aggravation, that they are ungrateful and unnatural. It is to our country we owe those laws which protect us in our lives, our liberties, our properties, and our religion. Our country produced us into the world, and continues to nourish us so, that it is usually called our mother; and there have been examples of great magistrates, who have put their own children to death for endeavouring to betray their country, as if they had attempted the life of their natural parent.

Thus I have briefly shewn you how terrible a sin it is to be an enemy to our country, in order to incite you to the contrary virtue, which at this juncture is so highly necessary, when every man's endeavour will be of use. We have hitherto been just able to support ourselves under many hardships; but now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, and nothing but a firm union among us can prevent our utter undoing. This we are obliged to, in duty to our gracious King, as well as to ourselves. Let us therefore preserve that public spirit, which God hath raised in us for our own temporal interest. For, if this wicked project should succeed, which it cannot do but by our own folly; if we sell ourselves for nought; the merchant, the shop-keeper, the artificer, must fly to the desert with their miserable families, there to starve or live upon rapine, or at least exchange their country for one more hospitable than that where they were born.

Thus much I thought it my duty to say to you, who are under my care, to warn you against those temporal evils, which may draw the worst of spiritual evils after them; such as heart-burnings, murmurings, discontents, and all manner of wickedness which a desperate condition of life may tempt men to.

I am sensible that what I have now said will not go very far, being confined to this assembly; but I hope it may stir up others of my brethren to exhort their several congregations, after a more effectual manner, to shew their love for their country on this important occasion. And this, I am sure, cannot be called meddling in affairs of state.

I pray God protect his most gracious Majesty, and this kingdom, long under his government, and defend us from all ruinous projectors, deceivers, suborners, perjurers, false accusers, and oppressors; from the virulence of party and faction; and unite us in loyalty to our King, love to our country, and charity to each other. And thus we beg for Jesus Christ his sake: To whom, &c.

A
P R O P O S A L

T H A T

All the LADIES and WOMEN of IRELAND should appear
constantly in Irish Manufactures.

Written in the Year M DCC XXIX.

THERE was a treatise written about nine years ago to persuade the people of Ireland to wear their own manufactures *. This treatise was allowed to have not one syllable in it of party or disaffection, but was wholly founded upon the growing poverty of the nation, occasioned by the utter want of trade in every branch, except that ruinous importation of all foreign extravagancies from other countries. This treatise was presented, by the Grand-jury of the city and county of Dublin, as a scandalous, seditious, and factious pamphlet. I forget who was the foreman of the city Grand-jury, but the foreman for the county, was one Doctor Seal, register to the Archbishop of Dublin, wherein he differed much from the sentiments of his Lord. The Printer was tried before the late Mr. Whitchet, that famous Lord Chief-Justice; who, on the bench, laying his hand on his heart, declared upon his salvation that the Author was a Jacobite, and had a design to beget a quarrel between the two nations. In the midst of this prosecution, about 1500 weavers were forced to beg their bread, and had a general contribution made for their relief, which just served to make them drunk for a week; and then they were

* See Vol. X. p. 1.

forced

forced to turn rogues, or strolling beggars, or to leave the kingdom.

The Duke of Grafton, who was then Lieutenant, being perfectly ashamed of so infamous and unpopular a proceeding, obtained from England a *noli prosequi* for the Printer. Yet the Grand-jury had solemn thanks given them from the Secretary of State.

I mention this passage (perhaps too much forgotten) to shew how dangerous it hath been for the best meaning person to write one syllable in the defence of his country, or discover the miserable condition it is in.

And, to prove this truth, I will produce one instance more; wholly omitting the famous case of the Drapier, and the proclamation against him, as well as the perverseness of another jury against the same Mr. Whitchet, who was violently bent to act the second part in another scene.

About two years ago there was a small paper printed, which was called *A short View of the State of Ireland**, relating the several causes whereby any country may grow rich, and applying them to Ireland. Whitchet was dead, and consequently the printer was not troubled. Mist, the famous journalist, happened to reprint this paper in London, for which his press-folks were prosecuted for almost a twelvemonth; and, for ought I know, are not yet discharged.

This is our case; inasmuch, that, although I am often without money in my pocket, I dare not own it in some company, for fear of being thought disaffected.

But since I am determined to take care, that the author of this paper shall not be discovered, (following herein the most prudent practice of the Drapier) I will venture to affirm, that the three seasons wherein our corn hath miscarried, did no more contribute to our present misery, than one spoonful of water thrown upon a rat already drowned would contribute to his death; and that the present plentiful harvest, although

* See Vol. X. p. 300.

it should be followed by a dozen ensuing, would no more restore us, than it would the rat aforesaid to put him near the fire, which might indeed warm his fur-coat, but never bring him back to life.

The short of the matter is this, The distresses of the kingdom are operating more and more every day, by very large degrees, and so have been doing for above a dozen years past.

If you demand from whence these distresses have arisen, I desire to ask the following question.

If two thirds of any kingdom's revenue be exported to another country, without one farthing of value in return, and if the said kingdom be forbidden the most profitable branches of trade wherein to employ the other third, and only allowed to traffic in importing those commodities which are most ruinous to itself, how shall that kingdom stand?

If this question were formed into the first proposition of an hypothetical syllogism, I defy the man born in Ireland, who is now in the fairest way of getting a collectorship, or a cornet's post, to give a good reason for denying it.

Let me put another case. Suppose a gentleman's estate of 200 £ . a year should sink to one hundred, by some accident, whether by an earthquake or inundation it matters not, and suppose the said gentleman utterly hopeless and unqualified ever to retrieve the loss; how is he otherwise to proceed in his future oeconomy, than by reducing it on every article to one half less, unless he will be content to fly his country, or rot in jail? This is a representation of Ireland's condition, only with one fault, that it is a little too favourable. Neither am I able to propose a full remedy for this, that shall ever be granted, but only a small prolongation of life, until God shall miraculously dispose the hearts of our neighbours, our kinsmen, our fellow protestants, fellow subjects, and fellow rational creatures, to permit us to starve without running further in debt. I am informed that our national debt (and God knows how we wretches came by that fashionable thing a national debt) is about 250,000 £ .; which is, at least, one third of the whole kingdom's rents,

rents, after our absentees and other foreign drains are paid, and about 50,000 *l.* more than all the cash.

It seems there are several schemes for raising a fund to pay the interest of this formidable sum, (not the principal, for this is allowed impossible.) The necessity of raising such a fund is strongly and regularly pleaded from the late deficiencies in the duties and customs. And is it the fault of Ireland that these funds are deficient? If they depend on trade, can it possibly be otherwise, while we have neither liberty to trade, nor money to trade with; neither hands to work, nor business to employ them, if we had? Our diseases are visible enough, both in their causes and effects; and the cures are well known, but impossible to be applied.

If my steward comes and tells me, that my rents are sunk so low that they are very little more than sufficient to pay my servants their wages, have I any other course left, than to cashier four in six of my rascally footmen, and a number of other varlets in my family, of whose insolence the whole neighbourhood complains. And I should think it extremely severe in any law, to force me to maintain a household of fifty servants, and fix their wages, before I had offered my rent-roll upon oath to the legislators.

To return from digressing: I am told one scheme for raising a fund to pay the interest of our national debt, is by a further duty of forty shillings a ton upon wine. Some gentlemen would carry this matter much further by raising it to twelve pounds; which, in a manner, would amount to a prohibition. Thus weakly arguing from the practice of England.

I have often taken notice, both in print and in discourse, that there is no topic so fallacious, either in talk or in writing, as to argue how we ought to act in Ireland from the example of England, Holland, France, or any other country, whose inhabitants are allowed the common rights and liberties of mankind. I could undertake to name six or seven of the most uncontrolled maxims in government, which are utterly false in this kingdom.

As:

As to the additional duty on wine, I think any person may deliver his opinion upon it, until it shall have passed into a law; and, till then, I declare mine to be positively against it.

First, Because there is no nation yet known, in either hemisphere, where the people of all conditions are more in want of some cordial, to keep up their spirits, than in this of ours. I am not in jest; and, if the fact will not be allowed me, I shall not argue it.

Secondly, It is too well and generally known, that this tax of forty shillings additional on every ton of wine (which will be double at least to the home-consumer) will increase equally every new session of parliament, until perhaps it comes to twelve pounds.

Thirdly, Because, as the merchants inform me, and as I have known many the like instances in England, this additional tax will more probably lessen this branch of the revenue, than encrease it. And therefore Sir John Stanley, a commissioner of the customs, in England, used to say, That the House of Commons were generally mistaken in matters of trade, by an erroneous opinion that two and two make four. Thus, if you should lay an additional duty of one penny a pound on raisins, or sugar, the revenue, instead of rising, would certainly sink; and the consequence would only be, to lessen the number of plum-puddings, and ruin the confectioner.

Fourthly, I am likewise assured by merchants, that, upon this additional forty shillings, the French will at least equally raise their duties upon all commodities we export thither.

Fifthly, If an original extract of the exports and imports be true, we have been gainers upon the balance by our trade with France for several years past; and, although our gain amounts to no great sum, we ought to be satisfied, since we are no losers, with the only consolation we are capable of receiving.

Lastly, The worst consequence is behind. If we raise the duty on wine to a considerable height, we lose the only hold we have of keeping among us the few gentlemen of any tolerable estates. I am confident, there is hardly a gentleman of eight hundred

hundred pounds a year and upwards, in this kingdom, who would balance half an hour to consider whether he should live here or in England, if a family could be as cheaply maintained in the one as the other. As to eatables, they are as cheap in many fine counties of England, as in some very indifferent ones here; or, if there be any difference, that vein of thrift, and prudence in oeconomy, which passes there without reproach, (and chiefly in London itself) would amply make up the difference. But the article of French wine is hardly tolerable, in any degree of plenty, to a middling fortune: And this is it which, by growing habitual, wholly turns the scale with those few landed men disengaged from employments, who content themselves to live hospitably with plenty of good wine in their own country, rather than in penury and obscurity in another, with bad, or with none at all.

Having therefore, as far as in me lies, abolished this additional duty upon wine; for I am not under the least concern about paying the interest of the national debt, but leave it, as in loyalty bound, wholly to the wisdom of the Honourable House of Commons: I come now to consider by what methods we may be able to put off, and delay our utter undoing as long as it is possible.

I never have discoursed any reasonable man upon this subject, who did not allow that there was no remedy left us, but to lessen the importation of all unnecessary commodities, as much as it was possible; and likewise, either to persuade our absentees to spend their money at home, which is impossible, or tax them at five shillings in the pound during their absence, with such allowances, upon necessary occasions, as it shall be thought convenient; or, by permitting us a free trade, which is denied to no other nation upon earth. The three last methods are treated by Mr. Prior, in his most useful treatise, added to his list of absentees.

It is to gratify the vanity and pride, and luxury of the women, and of the young fops who admire them, that we owe this insupportable grievance of bringing in the instruments of our ruin. There is annually brought over to this kingdom near
ninety

ninety thousand pounds worth of silk, whereof the greater part is manufactured: Thirty thousand pounds more is expended in muslin, holland, cambric, and callico. What the price of lace amounts to, is not easy to be collected from the custom-house book, being a kind of goods that takes up little room, and is easily run; but, considering the prodigious price of a woman's head-dress, at ten, twelve, twenty pounds a yard, must be very great. The tea, rated at seven shillings *per* pound, comes to near twelve thousand pounds; but, considering it as the common luxury of every chambermaid, sempstress, and tradesman's wife, both in town and country, however they come by it, must needs cost the kingdom double that sum. Coffee is somewhat above 7,000 *l.* I have seen no account of chocolate, and some other Indian or American goods. The drapery imported is about 24,000 *l.* The whole amounts (with one or two other particulars) to 150,000 *l.* The lavishing of all which money is just as prudent and necessary, as to see a man in an embroidered coat begging out of Newgate in an old shoe.

I allow that the thrown and raw silk is less pernicious; because we have some share in the manufacture; but we are not now in circumstances to trifle. It costs us above 40,000 *l.* a year: And if the ladies, till better times, will not be content to go in their own country shifts, I wish they may go in rags.

Let them vie with each other in the fineness of their native linen: Their beauty and gentleness will as well appear, as if they were covered over with diamonds and brocade.

I believe no man is so weak, as to hope or expect that such a reformation can be brought about by a law. But a thorough, hearty, unanimous vote, in both Houses of Parliament, might perhaps answer as well: Every senator, noble or plebeian, giving his honour, that neither himself, nor any of his family, would, in their dress, or furniture of their houses, make use of any thing except what was of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom; and that they would use the utmost of their power, influence and credit, to prevail on their tenants, dependants, and friends, to follow their example.

LESTER

TO THE

ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, concerning the WEAVERS.

MY LORD,
THE Corporation of Weavers in the woollen manufacture, who have so often attended your Grace, and called upon me with their schemes and proposals, were with me on Thursday last; when he who spoke for the rest, and in the name of his absent brethren, said, It was the opinion of the whole body, that if somewhat were written at this time by an able hand, to persuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own woollen manufactures, it might be of good use to the nation in general, and preserve many hundreds of their trade from starving. To which I answered, That it was hard for any man of common spirit to turn his thoughts to such speculations, without discovering a resentment which people are too delicate to bear. For I will not deny to your Grace, that I cannot reflect on the singular condition of this country, different from all others upon the face of the earth, without some emotion, and without often examining, as I pass the streets, whether those animals which come in my way, with two legs and human faces, clad and erect, be of the same species with what I have seen very like them in England, as to the outward shape, but differing in their notions, natures, and intellectuals, more than any two kinds of brutes in a forest; which any man of common prudence would immediately discover, by persuading them to define what they mean by law, liberty, property, courage, reason, loyalty, or religion.

One thing, my Lord, I am very confident of; that if God Almighty, for our sins, would most justly send us a pestilence, whoever should dare to discover his grief in public for such a visitation, would certainly be censured for disaffection to the government. For I solemnly profess, that I do not know one calamity we have undergone these many years, whereof any man, whose opinions were not in fashion, dared to lament, without being openly charged with that imputation. And this is the harder, because although a mother, when she hath corrected her child, may sometimes force it to kiss the rod, yet she will never give that power to the foot-boy or the scullion.

My Lord, There are two things for the people of this kingdom to consider: First, Their present evil condition; and, secondly, What can be done in some degree to remedy it.

I shall not enter into a particular description of our present misery: It hath been already done in several papers, and very fully in one entitled *A short View of the State of Ireland*. It will be enough to mention the entire want of trade, the navigation-act executed with the utmost rigor, the remission of a million every year to England, the ruinous importation of foreign luxury and vanity, the oppression of landlords, and discouragement of agriculture.

Now all those evils are without the possibility of a cure, except that of importations; and to fence against ruinous folly will be always in our power, in spite of the discouragements, mortifications, contempt, hatred, and oppression we labour under: But our trade will never mend, the navigation-act never be softened, our absentees never return, our endless foreign payments never be lessened, our own landlords never be less exacting.

All other schemes for preserving this kingdom from utter ruin are idle and visionary, consequently drawn from wrong reasoning, and from general topics, which, for the same causes that they may be true in all nations, are certainly false in ours; as I have told the public often enough, but with as little effect as what I shall say at present is likely to produce.

I am

I am weary of so many abortive projects, for the advancement of trade; of so many crude proposals, in letters sent me from unknown hands; of so many contradictory speculations, about raising or sinking the value of gold and silver: I am not in the least sorry to hear of the great numbers going to America, although very much for the causes that drive them from us, since the uncontrolled maxim, "That people are the riches of a nation," is no maxim here under our circumstances. We have neither manufactures to employ them about, nor food to support them.

If a private gentleman's income be sunk irretrievably for ever from a hundred pounds to fifty, and that he hath no other method to supply the deficiency, I desire to know, my Lord, whether such a person hath any other course to take, than to sink half his expences in every article of oeconomy, to save himself from ruin and a jail. Is not this more than doubly the case of Ireland, where the want of money, the irretrievable ruin of trade, with the other evils above-mentioned, and many more too well known and felt, and too numerous or invidious to relate, have been gradually sinking us for above a dozen years past, to a degree that we are at least by two thirds in a worse condition than was ever known since the Revolution. Therefore, instead of dreams and projects for advancing of trade, we have nothing left but to find out some expedient whereby we may reduce our expences to our incomes.

Yet this procedure, allowed so necessary in all private families, and in its own nature so easy to be put in practice, may meet with strong opposition by the cowardly slavish indulgence of the men to the intolerable pride, arrogance, vanity, and luxury of the women; who, strictly adhering to the rules of modern education, seem to employ their whole stock of invention in contriving new arts of profusion faster than the most parsimonious husband can afford: And, to compass this work the more effectually, their universal maxim is to despise and detest every thing of the growth and manufacture of their own country, and most to value, whatever comes from the very remotest

parts of the globe. And I am convinced, that, if the virtuosi could once find out a world in the moon, with a passage to it, our women would wear nothing but what came directly from thence.

The prime cost of wine yearly imported to Ireland is valued at 30,000 *l.*; and the tea (including coffee and chocolate) at five times that sum. The lace, silks, callicoes, and all other unnecessary ornaments for women, including English cloths and stuffs, added to the former articles, make up (to compute grossly) about 400,000 *l.*

Now, if we should allow the 30,000 *l.* wherein the women have their share, and which is all we have to comfort us, and deduct 70,000 *l.* more for over-reaching, there would still remain 300,000 *l.* annually spent, for unwholesome drugs and unnecessary finery. Which prodigious sum would be wholly saved, and many thousands of our miserable shop-keepers and manufacturers comfortably supported.

Let speculative people busy their brains as much as they please, there is no other way to prevent this kingdom from sinking for ever, than by utterly renouncing all foreign dress and luxury.

It is absolutely so in fact, that every husband, of any fortune in the kingdom, is nourishing a poisonous devouring serpent in his bosom, with all the mischief, but with none of its wisdom.

If all the women were clad with the growth of their own country, they might still vie with each other in the course of foppery, and still have room left to vie with each other, and equally shew their wit and judgment in deciding upon the variety of Irish stuffs. And, if they could be contented with their native wholesome fops for breakfast, we should hear no more of their spleen, hysterics, cholics, palpitations, and asthmas. They might still be allowed to ruin each other, and their husbands at play, because the money lost would only circulate among ourselves.

My

My Lord, I freely own it a wild imagination, that any words will cure the sottishness of men, or the vanity of women; but the kingdom is in a fair way of producing the most effectual remedy, when there will not be money left for the common course of buying and selling the very necessaries of life in our markets, unless we absolutely change the whole method of our proceedings.

The corporation of weavers in woollen and filk, who have so frequently offered proposals both to your Grace and to me, are the hottest and coldest generation of men that I have known. About a month ago, they attended your Grace, when I had the honour to be with you, and designed me the same favour. They desired you would recommend to your clergy to wear gowns of Irish stuffs, which might probably spread the example among all their brethren in the kingdom; and, perhaps, among the lawyers and gentlemen of the university, and among the citizens of those corporations who appear in gowns on solemn occasions. I then mentioned a kind of stuff, not above eight pence a yard, which I heard had been contrived by some of the trade, and was very convenient. I desired they would prepare some of that, or any sort of black stuff, on a certain day, when your Grace would appoint as many clergymen as could readily be found to meet at your palace, and there give their opinions; and that, your Grace's visitation approaching, you could then have the best opportunity of seeing what could be done in a matter of such consequence, as they seemed to think, to the woollen manufacture. But instead of attending, as was expected, they came to me a fortnight after with a new proposal, that something should be written, by an acceptable and able hand, to promote in general the wearing of home manufactures, and their civilities would fix that work upon me. I asked if they had prepared the stuffs, as they had promised, and your Grace expected; but they had not made the least step in the matter, nor, as it appears, thought of it more.

I did,

I did, some years ago, propose to the masters and principal dealers in the home manufactures of silk and wool, that they should meet together; and, after mature consideration, publish advertisements to the following purpose. That, in order to encourage the wearing of Irish manufactures in silk and woollen, they gave notice to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, That they the undersigned, would enter into bonds for themselves, and for each other, to sell the several sorts of stuffs, cloths, and silks, made to the best perfection they were able, for certain fixed prices; and in such a manner, that, if a child were sent to any of their shops, the buyer might be secure of the value and goodness, and measure of the ware: And, lest this might be thought to look like a monopoly, any other member of the trade might be admitted, upon such conditions as should be agreed on. And, if any person whatsoever should complain that he was ill-used in the value and goodness of what he bought, the matter should be examined, the person injured be fully satisfied by the whole corporation, without delay, and the dishonest seller be struck out of the society, unless it appeared evidently that the failure proceeded only from mistake.

The mortal danger is, that if these dealers could prevail, by the goodness and cheapness of their cloths and stuffs, to give a turn to the principal people of Ireland in favour of their goods, they would relapse into the knavish practice peculiar to this kingdom, which is apt to run through all trades, even so low as a common ale-seller; who, as soon as he gets a vogue for his liquor, and outsells his neighbours, thinks his credit will put off the worst he can buy, till his customers will come no more. Thus I have known at London, in a general mourning, the drapiers dye black, all their old damaged goods, and sell them at double rates, then complain and petition the court, that they are ready to starve by the continuance of the mourning.

Therefore, I say, those principal weavers who would enter into such a compact as I have mentioned, must give sufficient security

rity against all such practices: For, if once the women can persuade their husbands that foreign goods, besides the finery, will be as cheap, and do more service, our last state will be worse than the first.

I do not here pretend to digest perfectly the method by which these principal shopkeepers shall proceed in such a proposal; but my meaning is clear enough, and cannot reasonably be objected against.

We have seen what a destructive loss the kingdom received, by the detestable fraud of the merchants, or northern linen-weavers, or both; notwithstanding all the care of the governors at that board, when we had an offer of commerce with the Spaniards for our linen, to the value, as I am told, of 300,000*l.* a year. But, while we deal like pedlars, we shall practise like pedlars, and sacrifice all honesty to the present urging advantage.

What I have said may serve as an answer to the desire made me by the corporation of weavers, that I would offer my notions to the public. As to any thing further, let them apply themselves to the parliament in their next session. Let them prevail on the House of Commons to grant one very reasonable request; and I shall think there is still some spirit left in the nation, when I read a vote to this purpose: Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this House will, for the future, wear no cloths but such as are made of Irish growth, or of Irish manufacture, nor will permit their wives or children to wear any other: And that they will, to the utmost, endeavour to prevail with their friends, relations, dependents, and tenants to follow their example. And if, at the same time, they could banish tea, and coffee, and china-ware out of their families, and force their wives to chat their scandal over an infusion of sage, or other wholesome domestic vegetables, we might possibly be able to subsist, and pay our absentees, pensioners, generals, civil officers, appeals, colliers, temporary travellers, students, schoolboys, splenetic visitors of Bath, Tunbridge, and Epsom, with all other smaller drains, by sending our crude unwrought goods to England, and receiving from thence, and all other countries, nothing but what is
fully

fully manufactured, and keep a few potatoes and oatmeal for our own subsistence.

I have been, for a dozen years past, wisely prognosticating the present condition of this kingdom; which any human creature, of common sense, could foretel, with as little sagacity as myself. My meaning is, that a consumptive body must needs die, which hath spent all its spirits and received no nourishment. Yet I am often tempted to pity, when I hear the poor farmer and cottager lamenting the hardness of the times, and imputing them either to one or two ill seasons, which better climates than ours are more exposed to; or to scarcity of silver, which to a nation of liberty, would only be a slight and temporary inconvenience, to be removed at a month's warning.



A N S W E R

A N S W E R
TO SEVERAL
LETTERS FROM UNKNOWN PERSONS.

Written in the Year MDCCLXXIX.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM inclined to think that I received a letter from you two * last summer, directed to Dublin, while I was in the country, whither it was sent me, and I ordered an answer to it to be printed; but, it seems, it had little effect, and I suppose this will have not much more. But the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed. And, Gentlemen, I am to tell you another thing: That the world is too regardless of what we write for the public good: That, after we have delivered our thoughts, without any prospect of advantage or of reputation, which latter is not to be had but by subscribing our names, we cannot prevail upon a printer to be at the charge of sending it into the world, unless we will be at all, or half the expence: And, although we are willing enough to bestow our labours, we think it unreasonable to be out of pocket; because it, probably, may not consist with the situation of our affairs.

I do very much approve your good intentions, and, in a great measure, your manner of declaring them; and I do imagine you intended that the world should not only know your sentiments, but my answer, which I shall impartially give.

Trueman and Layfield.

VOL. VIII.

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That

That great Prelate, in whose cover you directed your letter, sent it to me this morning; and I begin my answer to-night, not knowing what interruption I may meet with.

I have ordered your letter to be printed, as it ought to be, along with my answer; because, I conceive, it will be more acceptable and informing to the kingdom.

I shall therefore now go on to answer your letter in all manner of sincerity.

Although your letter be directed to me, yet I take myself to be only an imaginary person: For although I conjecture I had formerly one from you, yet I never answered it otherwise than in print; neither was I at a loss to know the reasons why so many people of this kingdom were transporting themselves to America. And, if this encouragement were owing to a pamphlet written, giving an account of the country of Pennsylvania, to tempt people to go thither; I do declare that those who were tempted, by such a narrative, to such a journey, were fools, and the author a most impudent knave; at least, if it be the same pamphlet I saw when it first came out, which is above twenty-five years ago, dedicated to William Pen, (whom, by a mistake, you call Sir William Pen) and styling him, by authority of the Scripture, Most Noble Governor. For I was very well acquainted with Pen, and did, some years after, talk with him upon that pamphlet, and the impudence of the author, who spoke so many things in praise of the soil and climate, which Pen himself did absolutely contradict. For he did assure me, that this country wanted the shelter of mountains, which left it open to the northern winds from Hudson's Bay and the Frozen Sea, which destroyed all plantations of trees, and was even pernicious to all common vegetables. But, indeed, New-York, Virginia, and other parts less northward, or more defended by mountains, are described as excellent countries: But, upon what conditions of advantage foreigners go thither, I am yet to seek.

What evils our people avoid by running from hence, is easier to be determined. They conceive themselves to live
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under the tyranny of most cruel exacting landlords, who have no view further than encreasing their rent-rolls. Secondly, You complain of the want of trade, whereof you seem not to know the reason. Thirdly, You lament most justly the money spent by absentees in England. Fourthly, You complain that your linen manufacture declines. Fifthly, That your tythe-collectors oppress you. Sixthly, That your children have no hopes of preferment in the church, the revenue, or the army; to which you might have added the law, and all civil employments whatsoever. Seventhly, You are undone for want of silver, and want all other money.

I could easily add some other motives, which, to men of spirit, who desire and expect, and think they deserve the common privileges of human nature, would be of more force than any you have yet named to drive them out of this kingdom. But, as these speculations may probably not much affect the brains of your people, I shall chuse to let them pass unmentioned. Yet I cannot but observe, that my very good and virtuous friend, his Excellency Burnet, (*O fili, nec tali indigne parente!*) hath not hitherto been able to persuade his vassals, by his oratory in the style of a command, to settle a revenue on his Vice-Royal Person. I have been likewise assured, that, in one of those colonies on the continent, which nature hath so far favoured, as (by the industry of the inhabitants) to produce a great quantity of excellent rice; the stubbornness of the people, who having been told that the world was wide, took it into their heads that they might sell their own rice at whatever foreign market they pleased, and seem, by their practice, very unwilling to quit that opinion.

But, to return to my subject: I must confess to you both, that, if one reason of your people's deserting us, be the despair of things growing better in their own country, I have not one syllable to answer; because that would be to hope for what is impossible; and so I have been telling the public these ten years. For, there are three events which must precede any such blessing: First, A liberty of trade; secondly, A share of

preferments in all kinds, equal to the British natives; and, thirdly, A return [of those absentees, who take away almost one half of the kingdom's revenue. As to the first and second, there is nothing left us but despair; and, for the third, it will never happen till the kingdom hath no money to send them, for which, in my own particular, I should not be sorry.

The exaction of landlords hath indeed been a grievance of above twenty years standing. But, as to what you object about the severe clauses relating to improvement, the fault lies wholly on the other side: For the landlords, either by their ignorance or greediness of making large rent-rolls, have performed this matter so ill, as we see by experience, that there is not one tenant in five hundred who hath made any improvement worth mentioning. For which I appeal to any man who rides through the kingdom, where little is to be found among the tenants but beggary and desolation; the cabins of the Scotch themselves, in Ulster, being as dirty and miserable as those of the wildest Irish. Whereas good firm penal clauses for improvement, with a tolerable easy rent and a reasonable period of time, would, in twenty years, have encreased the rents of Ireland at least a third part in the intrinsic value.

I am glad to hear you speak with some decency of the clergy, and to impute the exactions you lament to the managers or farmers of the tythes. But you entirely mistake the fact: For I defy the most wicked and most powerful clergyman in the kingdom to oppress the meanest farmer in the parish; and I defy the same clergyman to prevent himself from being cheated by the same farmer, whenever that farmer shall be disposed to be knavish or peevish. For, although the Ulster tything-teller is more advantageous to the clergy than any other in the kingdom, yet the minister can demand no more than his tenth; and, where the corn much exceeds the small tythes, as, except in some districts, I am told it always doth, he is at the mercy of every stubborn farmer, especially of those whose sect as well as interest incline them to opposition. However, I take it that your people, bent for America, do not shew the best

part of their prudence in making this one part of their complaint: Yet they are so far wise as not to make the payment of tythes a scruple of conscience, which is too gross for any Protestant dissenter, except a Quaker, to pretend. But, do your people indeed think, that, if tythes were abolished, or delivered into the hands of the landlord after the blessed manner in the Scotch spiritual oeconomy, that the tenant would sit easier in his rent under the same person, who must be lord of the soil and of the tythe together?

I am ready enough to grant, that the oppression of landlords, the utter ruin of trade, with its necessary consequence the want of money, half the revenues of the kingdom spent abroad, the continued dearth of three years, and the strong delusion in your people by false allurements from America, may be the chief motives of their eagerness after such an expedition. But there is likewise another temptation, which is not of inconsiderable weight; which is, their itch of living in a country where their sect is predominant, and where their eyes and consciences will not be offended by the stumbling-block of ceremonies, habits, and spiritual titles.

But I was surprised to find that those calamities, whereof we are innocent, have been sufficient to drive many families out of their country, who had no reason to complain of oppressive landlords. For while I was last year in the northern parts, a person of quality, whose estate was let above twenty years ago, and then at a very reasonable rent, some for leases of lives, and some perpetuities, did, in a few months, purchase eleven of those leases at a very inconsiderable price, although they were two years ago reckoned to pay but half value. From whence it is manifest that our present miserable condition, and the dismal prospect of worse, with other reasons above assigned, are sufficient to put men upon trying this desperate experiment of changing the scene they are in, although landlords should, by a miracle, become less inhuman.

There is hardly a scheme proposed for improving the trade of this kingdom which doth not manifestly shew the stupidity
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and ignorance of the proposer: And I laugh with contempt at those weak wise heads who proceed upon general maxims, or advise us to follow the examples of Holland and England. These empirics talk by rote, without understanding the constitution of the kingdom; as if a physician, knowing that exercise contributed much to health, should prescribe to his patient under a severe fit of the gout, to walk ten miles every morning. The directions for Ireland are very short and plain, To encourage agriculture and home-consumption, and utterly discard all importations which are not absolutely necessary for health or life. And how few necessities, conveniencies, or even comforts of life, are denied us by nature, or not to be attained by labour and industry? Are those detestable extravagancies of Flanders-lace, English-cloths made of our own wool, and other goods, Italian or Indian silks, tea, coffee, chocolate, China-ware, and that profusion of wines, by the knavery of merchants growing dearer every season, with a hundred unnecessary fopperies, better known to others than me: Are these, I say, fit for us, any more than for the beggar who could not eat his veal without oranges? Is it not the highest indignity to human nature, that men should be such poltrons, as to suffer the kingdom and themselves to be undone, by the vanity, the folly, the pride, and wantonness of their wives; who, under their present corruptions, seem to be a kind of animal suffered, for our sins, to be sent into the world for the destruction of families, societies, and kingdoms, and whose whole study seems directed to be as expensive as they possibly can in every useless article of living; who, by long practice, can reconcile the most pernicious foreign drugs to their health and pleasure, provided they are but expensive; as starlings grow fat with henbane; who contract a robustness by mere practice of sloth and luxury; who can play deep several hours after midnight, sleep beyond noon, revel upon Indian poisons, and spend the revenue of a moderate family, to adorn a nauseous, unwholesome living carcase? Let those few, who are not concerned in any part of this accusation, suppose it unsaid; let the rest take it among them.

them. Gracious God! in his mercy, look down upon a nation so shamefully befotted.

If I am possessed of an hundred pounds a year, and by some misfortune it sinks to fifty, without a possibility of ever being retrieved: Does it remain a question, in such an exigency, what I am to do? Must not I retrench one half in every article of expence? Or, retire to some cheap, distant part of the country, where necessaries are at half value?

Is there any mortal who can shew me, under the circumstances we stand with our neighbours, under their inclinations towards us, under laws never to be repealed, under the desolation caused by absentees, under many other circumstances not to be mentioned, that this kingdom can ever be a nation of trade, or subsist by any other method than that of a reduced family, by the utmost parsimony, in the manner I have already prescribed?

I am tired with letters from many unreasonable well-meaning people, who are daily pressing me to deliver my thoughts in this deplorable juncture; which, upon many others, I have so often done in vain. What will it import, that half a score people, in a coffee-house, may happen to read this paper, and even the majority of those few, differ in every sentiment from me? If the farmer be not allowed to sow his corn, if half the little money among us be sent to pay rents to Irish absentees, and the rest for foreign luxury, and dress for the women, what will our charitable dispositions avail, when there is nothing left to be given? When, contrary to all custom and example, all necessaries of life are so exorbitant, when money of all kinds was never known to be so scarce? So that gentlemen of no contemptible estates are forced to retrench in every article (except what relates to their wives) without being able to shew any bounty to the poor.

A N

A N S W E R

TO SEVERAL

LETTERS sent me from UNKNOWN HANDS.

Written in the Year M.DCC.XXIX.

I AM very well pleased with the good opinion you express of me, and wish it were any way in my power to answer your expectations, for the service of my country. I have carefully read your several schemes and proposals, which you think should be offered to the parliament. In answer, I will assure you, that, in another place, I have known very good proposals rejected with contempt by public assemblies, merely because they were offered from without doors; and yours perhaps might have the same fate, especially if handed into the public by me, who am not acquainted with three members, nor have the least interest with one. My printers have been twice prosecuted, to my great expence, on account of discourses I writ for the public service, without the least reflection on parties or persons; and the success I had in those of the Drapier was not owing to my abilities, but to a lucky juncture, when the fuel was ready for the first hand that would be at the pains of kindling it. It is true both those envenomed prosecutions were the workmanship of a judge, who is now gone to his own place*. But, let that be as it will, I am determined henceforth never to be the instrument of leaving an innocent man at the mercy of that bench.

It is certain, there are several particulars relating to this kingdom (I have mentioned a few of them in one of my

* Lord Chief-Justice Whitshed.

Drapier's letters) which it were heartily to be wished that the Parliament would take under their consideration, such as will nowise interfere with England, otherwise than to its advantage.

The first I shall mention is touched at in a letter which I received from one of you, Gentlemen, about the highways; which, indeed, are almost every where scandalously neglected. I know a very rich man in this city, a true lover and faver of his money, who, being possessed of some adjacent lands, hath been at great charge in repairing effectually the roads that lead to them; and hath assured me, that his lands are thereby advanced four or five shillings an acre, by which he gets treble interest. But, generally speaking, all over the kingdom, the roads are deplorable; and, what is more particularly barbarous, there is no sort of provision made for travellers on foot; no, not near this city, except in a very few places, and in a most wretched manner: Whereas the English are so particularly careful in this point, that you may travel there an hundred miles with less inconvenience than one mile here. But, since this may be thought too great a reformation, I shall only speak of roads for horses, carriages, and cattle.

Ireland is, I think, computed to be one third smaller than England; yet, by some natural disadvantages, it would not bear quite the same proportion in value, with the same encouragement. However, it hath so happened, for many years past, that it never arrived to above one eleventh part in point of riches; and, of late, by the continual decrease of trade and increase of absentees, with other circumstances not here to be mentioned, hardly to a fifteenth part; at least, if my calculations be right, which I doubt are a little too favourable on our side.

Now, supposing day-labour to be cheaper by one half here than in England, and our roads, by the nature of our carriages and the desolation of our country, to be not worn and beaten above one eighth part so much as those of England, which is a very moderate computation; I do not see why the mending of them would be a greater burthen to this kingdom than to that.

There have been, I believe, twenty acts of parliament, in six or seven years of the late King*, for mending long tracts of impassable ways in several counties of England, by erecting turnpikes, and receiving passage-money in a manner that every body knows. If what I have advanced be true, it would be hard to give a reason against the same practice here, since the necessity is as great, the advantage in proportion perhaps much greater, the materials of stone and gravel as easy to be found, and the workmanship at least twice as cheap. Besides, the work may be done gradually, with allowances for the poverty of the nation, by so many perch a year; but with a special care to encourage skill and diligence, and to prevent fraud in the undertakers, to which we are too liable, and which are not always confined to those of the meaner sort: But against these, no doubt, the wisdom of the nation may, and will provide.

Another evil, which, in my opinion, deserves the public care, is the ill-management of the bogs, the neglect whereof is a much greater mischief to this kingdom than most people seem to be aware of.

It is allowed indeed, by those who are esteemed most skilful in such matters, that the red swelling mossy bog, whereof we have so many large tracts in this island, is not by any means to be fully reduced; but the skirts, which are covered with a green coat, easily may, being not an accretion, or annual growth of moss, like the other. Now the landlords are generally too careless that they suffer their tenants to cut their turf in these skirts, as well as the bog adjoined, whereby there is yearly lost a considerable quantity of land throughout the kingdom, never to be recovered.

But this is not the greatest part of the mischief. For the main bog, although perhaps not reducible to natural soil, yet, by continuing large, deep, straight canals through the middle, cleaned at proper times, as low as the channel or gravel,

* King George I.

would become a secure summer-pasture; the margins might, with great profit and ornament, be filled with quickins, birch, and other trees proper for such a soil, and the canals be convenient for water-carriage of the turf, which is now drawn upon sled-cars with great expence, difficulty, and loss of time, by reason of the many turf-pits scattered irregularly through the bog, wherein great numbers of cattle are yearly drowned. And it hath been, I confess, to me a matter of the greatest vexation as well as wonder, to think how any landlord could be so absurd as to suffer such havock to be made.

All the acts for encouraging plantations of forest-trees are, I am told, extremely defective; which, with great submission, must have been owing to a defect of skill in the contrivers of them. In this climate, by the continual blowing of the West-south-west wind, hardly any tree of value will come to perfection that is not planted in groves, except very rarely, and where there is much land-shelter. I have not, indeed, read all the acts; but, from enquiry, I cannot learn that the planting in groves is enjoined. And, as to the effects of these laws, I have not seen the least, in many hundred miles riding, except about a very few gentlemens houses, and even those with very little skill or success. In all the rest, the hedges generally miscarry, as well as the larger slender twigs planted upon the tops of ditches, merely for want of common skill and care.

I do not believe that a greater and quicker profit could be made, than by planting large groves of ash, a few feet asunder, which in seven years would make the best kind of hop-poles, and grow in the same, or less time, to a second crop from their roots.

It would likewise be of great use and beauty in our desert scenes, to oblige all tenants and cottagers to plant ash or elm before their cabins, and round their potatoe-gardens, where cattle either do not, or ought not to come to destroy them.

The common objections against all this, drawn from the laziness, the perverseness, or thievish disposition of the poor native Irish, might be easily answered, by shewing the true rea-

sons for such accusations, and how easily those people may be brought to a less savage manner of life: But my printers have already suffered too much for my speculations. However, supposing the size of a native's understanding just equal to that of a dog or horse, I have often seen those two animals to be civilized by rewards, at least as much as by punishments.

It would be a noble achievement to abolish the Irish language in this kingdom, so far at least as to oblige all the natives to speak only English on every occasion of business, in shops, markets, fairs, and other places of dealing: Yet I am wholly deceived if this might not be effectually done in less than half an age, and at a very trifling expence; for such I look upon a tax to be, of only six thousand pounds a year, to accomplish so great a work. This would, in a great measure, civilize the most barbarous among them, reconcile them to our customs and manner of living, and reduce great numbers to the national religion, whatever kind may then happen to be established. The method is plain and simple; and, although I am too desponding to produce it, yet I could heartily wish some public thoughts were employed to reduce this uncultivated people from that idle, savage, beastly, thievish manner of life, in which they continue sunk to a degree, that it is almost impossible for a country gentleman to find a servant of human capacity, or the least tincture of natural honesty; or who does not live among his own tenants in continual fear of having his plantations destroyed, his cattle stolen, and his goods pilfered.

The love, affection, or vanity of living in England, continuing to carry thither so many wealthy families, the consequences thereof, together with the utter loss of all trade, except what is detrimental, which hath forced such great numbers of weavers and others to seek their bread in foreign countries, the unhappy practice of stocking such vast quantities of land with sheep and other cattle, which reduceth twenty families to one: These events, I say, have exceedingly depopulated this kingdom for several years past. I should heartily wish, therefore,

fore, under this miserable dearth of money, that those who are most concerned would think it adviseable to save a hundred thousand pounds a year, which is now sent out of this kingdom to feed us with corn. There is not an older or more uncontroverted maxim in the politics of all wise nations, than that of encouraging agriculture. And, therefore, to what kind of wisdom a practice so directly contrary among us may be reduced, I am by no means a judge. If labour and people make the true riches of a nation, what must be the issue where one part of the people are forced away, and the other part have nothing to do?

If it should be thought proper by wiser heads, that his Majesty might be applied to in a national way, for giving the kingdom leave to coin halfpence for its own use; I believe no good subject will be under the least apprehension that such a request could meet with refusal, or the least delay. Perhaps we are the only kingdom upon earth, or that ever was or will be upon earth, which did not enjoy that common right of civil society, under the proper inspection of its prince, or legislature, to coin money of all usual metals for its own occasions. Every petty prince in Germany, vassal to the Emperor, enjoys this privilege. And I have seen in this kingdom several silver pieces, with the inscription of *Civitas Waterford, Droghedagh, and other towns.*



T H E
S U B S T A N C E
O F

What was said by the DEAN of ST. PATRICK'S to the LORD MAYOR and some of the ALDERMEN, when his Lordship came to present the said DEAN with his Freedom in a Gold-box.

WHEN his Lordship had said a few words, and presented the instrument, the Dean gently put it back, and desired first to be heard. He said, He was much obliged to his Lordship and the city for the honour they were going to do him, and which, as he was informed, they had long intended him: That it was true this honour was mingled with a little mortification, by the delay which attended it; but which, however, he did not impute to his Lordship or the city: And that the mortification was the less, because he would willingly hope the delay was founded on a mistake; for which opinion he would tell his reason. He said, It was well known, that, some time ago, a person with a title was pleased, in two great assemblies, to rattle bitterly some body without a name, under the injurious appellations of a Tory, a Jacobite, an enemy to King George, and a libeller of the government; which character, the Dean said that many people thought, was applied to him: But he was unwilling to be of that opinion, because the person who had delivered those abusive words had, for several years, caressed and courted, and solicited his friendship more than any man in either kingdom had ever done; by inviting him to his house in town and country, by coming to the Deanry often,
and

and calling or sending almost every day when the Dean was sick, with many other particulars of the same nature, which continued even to a day or two of the time when the said person made those invectives in the Council and House of Lords. Therefore, that the Dean would by no means think those scurrilous words could be intended against him; because such a proceeding would overthrow all the principles of honour, justice, religion, truth, and even common humanity. Therefore the Dean will endeavour to believe, that the said person had some other object in his thoughts, and it was only the uncharitable custom of the world that applied this character to him. However, that he would insist on this argument no longer. But one thing he would affirm and declare, without assigning any name or making any exception, That, whoever either did or does, or shall hereafter at any time, charge him with the character of a Jacobite, an enemy to King George, or a libeller of the government, the said accusation was, is, and will be false, malicious, slanderous, and altogether groundless. And, he would take the freedom to tell his Lordship and the rest that stood by, that he had done more service to the Hanover-title, and more disservice to the Pretender's cause, than forty thousand of those noisy, railing, malicious, empty zealots, to whom nature hath denied any talent that could be of use to God or their country, and left them only the gift of reviling, and spitting their venom, against all who differ from them in their destructive principles both in church and state. That he confessed it was sometimes his misfortune to dislike some things in public proceedings in both kingdoms, wherein he had often the honour to agree with wise and good men; but this did by no means affect either his loyalty to his prince, or love to his country. But, on the contrary, he protested that such dislikes never arose in him from any other principles, than the duty he owed to the King, and his affection to the kingdom. That he had been acquainted with courts and ministers long enough, and knew too well that the best ministers might mistake in points of great importance; and

and that he had the honour to know many more able, and at least full as honest as any can be at present. The Dean further said, That, since he had been so falsely represented, he thought it became him to give some account of himself for above twenty years, if it were only to justify his Lordship and the city for the honour they were going to do him. He related briefly how, merely by his own personal credit, without other assistance, and in two journeys at his own expence, he had procured a grant of the first fruits to the clergy, in the late Queen's time; for which he thought he deserved some gentle treatment from his brethren. That, during all the administration of the said ministry, he had been a constant advocate for those who are called the Whigs; had kept many of them in their employments, both in England and here, and some who were afterwards the first to lift up their heels against him. He reflected a little upon the severe treatment he had met with upon his return to Ireland after her Majesty's death, and for some years after. That, being forced to live retired, he could think of no better way to do public service, than by employing all the little money he could save, and lending it, without interest, in small sums to poor industrious tradesmen, without examining their party or their faith. And God had so far pleased to bless his endeavours, that his managers tell him he hath recovered above two hundred families in this city from ruin, and placed most of them in a comfortable way of life. The Dean related how much he had suffered in his purse, and with what hazard to his liberty, by a most iniquitous judge; * who, to gratify his ambition and rage of party, had condemned an innocent book, written with no worse a design, than to persuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures. How the said judge had endeavoured to get a jury to his mind, but they proved so honest, that he was forced to keep them eleven hours, and send them back nine times, until, at last, they were compelled to leave the

* See the Note, Vol. X. page 1.

printer * to the mercy of the court. And the Dean was forced to procure a *noli prosequi* from a Noble Person, then secretary of state, who had been his old friend. The Dean then freely confessed himself to be author of those books called the *Drapier's Letters*, spoke gently of the proclamation offering 300 *l.* to discover the writer. He said, That although a certain person was pleased to mention those books in a slight manner at a public assembly, yet he (the Dean) had learned to believe, that there were ten thousand to one in the kingdom who differed from that person; and the people of England, who had ever heard of the matter, as well as in France, were all of the same opinion. The Dean mentioned several other particulars, some of which, those from whom I had the account could not recollect, and others, although of great consequence, perhaps his enemies would not allow him. The Dean concluded with acknowledging to have expressed his wishes, that an inscription might have been graven on the box, shewing some reason why the city thought fit to do him that honour, which was much out of the common forms to a person in a private station; those distinctions being usually made only to chief governors, or persons in very high employments.

* Harding.



TH O U G H T S

O N

R E L I G I O N.

I AM in all opinions to believe according to my own impartial reason; which I am bound to inform and improve, as far as my capacity and opportunities will permit.

It may be prudent in me to act sometimes by other mens reason, but I can think only by my own.

If another man's reason fully convinceth me, it becomes my own reason.

To say a man is bound to believe, is neither truth nor sense.

You may force men, by interest or punishment, to say or swear they believe, and to act as if they believed: You can go no further.

Every man, as a member of the common wealth, ought to be content with the possession of his own opinion in private, without perplexing his neighbour or disturbing the public.

Violent zeal for truth hath an hundred to one odds to be either petulancy, ambition, or pride.

There is a degree of corruption wherein some nations, as bad as the world is, will proceed to an amendment; till which time particular men should be quiet.

To remove opinions fundamental in religion is impossible, and the attempt wicked, whether these opinions be true or false; unless your avowed design be to abolish that religion altogether. So, for instance, in the famous doctrine of Christ's divinity, which hath been universally received by all bodies of Christians, since the condemnation of Arianism under Constantine and his

successors:

successors: Wherefore the proceedings of the Socinians are both vain and unwarrantable; because they will be never able to advance their own opinion, or meet any other success than breeding doubts and disturbances in the world. *Qui ratione sua disturbant menia mundi.*

The want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed when it cannot be overcome.

The Christian religion, in the most early times, was proposed to the Jews and Heathens without the article of Christ's divinity; which, I remember, Erasmus accounts for, by its being too strong a meat for babes. Perhaps, if it were now softened by the Chinese missionaries, the conversion of those infidels would be less difficult: And we find by the Alcoran, it is the great stumbling-block of the Mahometans. But, in a country already Christian, to bring so fundamental a point of faith into debate, can have no consequences that are not pernicious to morals and public peace.

I have been often offended to find St. Paul's allegories, and other figures of Grecian eloquence, converted by divines into articles of faith.

God's mercy is over all his works, but divines of all sorts lessen that mercy too much.

I look upon myself, in the capacity of a clergyman, to be one appointed by providence for defending a post assigned me, and for gaining over as many enemies as I can. Although I think my cause is just, yet one great motion is my submitting to the pleasure of Providence, and to the laws of my country.

I am not answerable to God for the doubts that arise in my own breast, since they are the consequence of that reason which he hath planted in me, if I take care to conceal those doubts from others, if I use my best endeavours to subdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life.

I believe that thousands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodoxy within the compass of subtleties,

niceties, and distinctions, with little warrant from Scripture and less from reason or good policy.

I never saw, heard, nor read, that the clergy were beloved in any nation where Christianity was the religion of the country. Nothing can render them popular but some degree of persecution.

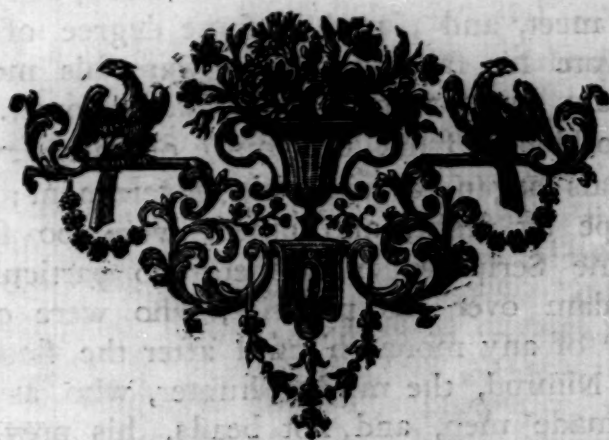
Those fine gentlemen who affect the humour of railing at the clergy, are, I think, bound in honour to turn parsons themselves, and shew us better examples.

Miserable mortals! can we contribute to the *honour and glory of God*? I could wish that expression were struck out of our Prayer-books.

Liberty of conscience, properly speaking, is no more than the liberty of possessing our own thoughts and opinions, which every man enjoys without fear of the magistrate: But how far he shall publicly act in pursuance of those opinions, is to be regulated by the laws of the country. Perhaps, in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-instituted commonwealth before a monarchy; and I know several others of the same opinion. Now, if, upon this pretence, I should insist upon liberty of conscience, form conventicles of republicans, and print books preferring that government and condemning what is established, the magistrate would, with great justice, hang me and my disciples. It is the same case in religion, although not so avowed, where liberty of conscience, under the present acceptance, equally produces revolutions, or at least convulsions and disturbances in a state; which politicians would see well enough, if their eyes were not blinded by faction, and of which these kingdoms, as well as France, Sweden, and other countries, are flaming instances. Cromwell's notion upon this article was natural and right; when, upon the surrender of a town in Ireland, the Popish governor insisted upon an article for liberty of conscience, Cromwell said, he meddled with no man's conscience; but, if by liberty of conscience, the governor meant the liberty of the Mass, he had express orders from the parliament of England against admitting any such liberty

at all. It is impossible that any thing so natural, so necessary, and so universal as death, should ever have been designed by providence as an evil to mankind.

Although reason were intended by providence to govern our passions, yet it seems that, in two points of the greatest moment to the being and continuance of the world, God hath intended our passions to prevail over reason. The first is, the propagation of our species, since no wise man ever married from the dictates of reason. The other is, the love of life, which, from the dictates of reason, every man would despise, and wish it at an end, or that it never had a beginning.



FURTHER

FURTHER

T H O U G H T S

O N

R E L I G I O N.

THE Scripture-system of man's creation is what Christians are bound to believe, and seems most agreeable of all others to probability and reason. Adam was formed from a piece of clay, and Eve from one of his ribs. The text mentioneth nothing of his Maker's intending him for, except to rule over the beasts of the field and birds of the air. As to Eve, it doth not appear that her husband was her monarch, only she was to be his help meet, and placed in some degree of subjection. However, before his fall, the beasts were his most obedient subjects, whom he governed by absolute power. After his eating the forbidden fruit, the course of nature was changed, the animals began to reject his government; some were able to escape by flight, and others were too fierce to be attacked. The Scripture mentioneth no particular acts of royalty in Adam over his posterity, who were cotemporary with him, or of any monarch until after the flood; whereof the first was Nimrod, the mighty hunter, who, as Milton expresseth it, made men, and not beasts, his prey. For men were easier caught by promises, and subdued by the folly or treachery of their own species. Whereas the brutes prevailed only by their courage or strength, which, among them, are peculiar to certain kinds. Lions, bears, elephants, and some other animals are strong or valiant, and their species never degenerates in their native soil, except they happen to be enslaved or destroyed by human fraud: But men degenerate every day, merely by the folly, the perverseness, the avarice, the tyranny, the pride, the treachery, or inhumanity of their own kind.

A PRAYER

A
P R A Y E R
F O R
S T E L L A

ALMIGHTY and most gracious Lord God, extend, we beseech thee, thy pity and compassion towards this thy languishing servant: Teach her to place her hope and confidence entirely in thee; give her a true sense of the emptyness and vanity of all earthly things; make her truly sensible of all the infirmities of her life past, and grant to her such a true sincere repentance as is not to be repented of. Preserve her, O Lord, in a sound mind and understanding, during this thy visitation; keep her from both the sad extremes of presumption and despair. If thou shalt please to restore her to her former health, give her grace to be ever mindful of that mercy, and to keep those good resolutions she now makes in her sickness, so that no length of time, nor prosperity, may entice her to forget them. Let no thought of her misfortunes distract her mind, and prevent the means towards her recovery, or disturb her in her preparations for a better life. We beseech thee also, O Lord, of thy infinite goodness to remember the good actions of this thy servant; that the naked she hath clothed, the hungry she hath fed, the sick and the fatherless whom she hath relieved, may be reckoned according to thy gracious promise, as if they had been done unto thee. Hearken, O Lord, to the prayers offered up by the friends of this thy servant in her behalf, and especially those now made by us
unto

unto thee. Give thy blessing to those endeavours used for her recovery; but take from her all violent desire, either of life or death, further than with resignation to thy holy will. And now, O Lord, we implore thy gracious favour towards us here met together; grant that the sense of this thy servant's weakness may add strength to our faith, that we, considering the infirmities of our nature, and the uncertainty of life, may, by this example, be drawn to repentance before it shall please thee to visit us in the like manner. Accept these prayers, we beseech Thee, for the sake of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, our Lord; who, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth ever one God world without end. Amen.



A
S E R M O N.

1 Cor. iii. 19.

The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.

IT is remarkable that, about the time of our Saviour's coming into the world, all kinds of learning flourished to a very great degree, infomuch that nothing is more frequent in the mouths of many men, even such who pretend to read and to know, than an extravagant praise and opinion of the wisdom and virtue of the Gentile sages of those days, and likewise of those antient philosophers who went before them, whose doctrines are left upon record either by themselves or other writers. As far as this may be taken for granted, it may be said, that the providence of God brought this about for several very wise ends and purposes. For, it is certain that these philosophers had been a long time before searching out where to fix the true happiness of man; and, not being able to agree upon any certainty about it, they could not possibly but conclude, if they judged impartially, that all their enquiries were, in the end, but vain and fruitless; the consequence of which must be not only an acknowledgment of the weakness of all human wisdom, but likewise an open passage hereby made, for the letting in those beams of light, which the glorious sunshine of the gospel then brought into the world, by revealing those hidden truths, which they had so long before been labouring to discover, and fixing the general happiness of mankind beyond all controversy and dispute. And therefore the providence of God wisely suffered men of

deep genius and learning then to arise, who should search into the truth of the gospel now made known, and canvass its doctrines with all the subtilty and knowledge they were masters of, and in the end freely acknowledge that to be the true wisdom only which cometh from above. James iii. 15, 16, 17.

However, to make a further enquiry into the truth of this observation, I doubt not but there is reason to think that a great many of those encomiums given to antient philosophers are taken upon trust, and by a sort of men who are not very likely to be at the pains of an enquiry that would employ so much time and thinking. For the usual ends why men affect this kind of discourse, appear generally to be either out of ostentation, that they may pass upon the world for persons of great knowledge and observation; or, what is worse, there are some who highly exalt the wisdom of those Gentile sages, thereby obliquely to glance at and traduce Divine Revelation, and more especially that of the gospel; for the consequence they would have us draw, is this: That, since those antient philosophers rose to a greater pitch of wisdom and virtue than was ever known among Christians, and all this purely upon the strength of their own reason and liberty of thinking, therefore it must follow, that either all Revelation is false, or, what is worse, that it has depraved the nature of man, and left him worse than it found him.

But this high opinion of Heathen wisdom is not very antient in the world, nor at all countenanced from primitive times: Our Saviour had but a low esteem of it, as appears by his treatment of the Pharisees and Sadducees, who followed the doctrines of Plato and Epicurus. St. Paul likewise, who was well versed in all the Grecian literature, seems very much to despise their philosophy, as we find in his writings, cautioning the Colossians to beware lest any man spoil them through philosophy and vain deceit. And, in another place, he advises Timothy to avoid prophane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so called; that is, not to introduce into the Christian doctrine

doctrine the janglings of those vain philosophers, which they would pass upon the world for science. And the reasons he gives are, first, That those who professed them did err concerning the faith: Secondly, Because the knowledge of them did encrease ungodliness, vain babblings being otherways expounded vanities, or empty sounds; that is, tedious disputes about words, which the philosophers were always so full of, and which were the natural product of disputes and dissensions between several sects.

Neither had the primitive fathers any great or good opinion of the Heathen philosophy, as it is manifest from several passages in their writings: So that this vein of affecting to raise the reputation of those sages so high, is a mode and a vice but of yesterday, assumed chiefly, as I have said, to disparage revealed knowledge, and the consequences of it among us.

Now, because this is a prejudice which may prevail with some persons, so far as to lessen the influence of the gospel, and whereas therefore this is an opinion which men of education are like to be encountered with, when they have produced themselves into the world; I shall endeavour to shew that their preference of Heathen wisdom and virtue, before that of the Christian, is every way unjust, and grounded upon ignorance or mistake: In order to which I shall consider four things.

First, I shall produce certain points, wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy in general, fell short, and was very imperfect.

Secondly, I shall shew, in several instances, where some of the most renowned philosophers have been grossly defective in their lessons of morality.

Thirdly, I shall prove the perfection of Christian wisdom, from the proper characters and marks of it.

Lastly, I shall shew that the great examples of wisdom and virtue among the Heathen wise men, were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any sect; whereas, in Christianity, it is quite the contrary.

First, I shall produce certain points, wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy in general fell short, and was very imperfect.

My design is to persuade men, that Christian philosophy is in all things preferable to Heathen wisdom; from which, or its professors, I shall however have no occasion to detract. They were as wise and as good as it was possible for them under such disadvantages, and would have probably been infinitely more with such aids as we enjoy: But our lessons are certainly much better, however our practices may fall short.

The first point I shall mention was that universal defect which was in all their schemes, that they could not agree about their chief good, or wherein to place the happiness of mankind, nor had any of them a tolerable answer upon this difficulty, to satisfy a reasonable person. For, to say, as the most plausible of them did, that happiness consisted in virtue, was but vain babbling, and a mere sound of words, to amuse others and themselves; because they were not agreed what this virtue was, or wherein it did consist; and likewise, because several among the best of them taught quite different things, placing happiness in health or good fortune, in riches or in honour, where all were agreed that virtue was not, as I shall have occasion to shew, when I speak of their particular tenets.

The second great defect in the Gentile philosophy was, that it wanted some suitable reward proportioned to the better part of man, his mind, as an encouragement for his progress in virtue. The difficulties they met with upon the score of this default were great, and not to be accounted for: Bodily goods, being only suitable to bodily wants, are no rest at all for the mind; and, if they were, yet are they not the proper fruits of wisdom and virtue, being equally attainable by the ignorant and wicked. Now, human nature is so constituted, that we can never pursue any thing heartily but upon hopes of a reward. If we run a race, it is in expectation of a prize, and the greater the prize the faster we run; for an incorruptible crown,
if

if we understand it and believe it to be such, more than a corruptible one. But some of the philosophers gave all this quite another turn, and pretended to refine so far, as to call virtue its own reward, and worthy to be followed only for itself: Whereas, if there be any thing in this more than the sound of the words, it is at least too abstracted to become an universal influencing principle in the world, and therefore could not be of general use.

It was the want of assigning some happiness, proportioned to the soul of man, that caused many of them, either, on the one hand, to be sour and morose, supercilious and untreatable; or, on the other, to fall into the vulgar pursuits of common men, to hunt after greatness and riches, to make their court, and to serve occasions; as Plato did to the younger Dionysius, and Aristotle to Alexander the Great. So impossible is it for a man, who looks no further than the present world, to fix himself long in a contemplation where the present world has no part: He has no sure hold, no firm footing; he can never expect to remove the earth he rests upon, while he has no support beside for his feet, but wants, like Archimedes, some other place whereon to stand. To talk of bearing pain and grief, without any sort of present or future hope, cannot be purely greatness of spirit; there must be a mixture in it of affectation, and an allay of pride, or perhaps is wholly counterfeit.

It is true there has been all along in the world a notion of rewards and punishments in another life; but it seems to have rather served as an entertainment to poets, or as a terror of children, than a settled principle, by which men pretended to govern any of their actions. The last celebrated words of Socrates, a little before his death, do not seem to reckon or build much upon any such opinion; and Cæsar made no scruple to disown it, and ridicule it in open senate.

Thirdly, The greatest and wisest of all their philosophers were never able to give any satisfaction, to others and themselves, in their notions of a Deity. They were often extremely gross and absurd in their conceptions; and those who made
the

the fairest conjectures are such as were generally allowed by the learned to have seen the system of Moses, if I may so call it, who was in great reputation at that time in the Heathen world, as we find by Diodorus, Justin, Longinus, and other authors; for the rest, the wisest among them laid aside all notions after a Deity, as a disquisition vain and fruitless, which indeed it was, upon unrevealed principles; and those who ventured to engage too far fell into incoherence and confusion.

Fourthly, Those among them who had the justest conceptions of a Divine Power, and did also admit a Providence, had no notion at all of entirely relying and depending upon either; they trusted in themselves for all things: But, as for a trust or dependence upon God, they would not have understood the phrase; it made no part of the profane style.

Therefore it was, that, in all issues and events, which they could not reconcile to their own sentiments of reason and justice, they were quite disconcerted: They had no retreat; but, upon every blow of adverse fortune, either affected to be indifferent, or grew sullen and severe, or else yielded and sunk like other men.

Having now produced certain points, wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy fell short, and was very imperfect; I go on, in the second place, to shew in several instances, where some of the most renowned philosophers have been grossly defective in their lessons of morality.

Thales, the founder of the Ionic sect, so celebrated for morality, being asked how a man might bear ill fortune with greatest ease, answered, "By seeing his enemies in a worse condition." An answer truly barbarous, unworthy of human nature, and which included such consequences as must destroy all society from the world.

Solon, lamenting the death of a son, one told him, "You lament in vain:" "Therefore (said he) I lament, because it is in vain." This was a plain confession how imperfect all his philosophy was, and that something was still wanting. He owned that all his wisdom and morals were useless, and this
upon

upon one of the most frequent accidents in life. How much better could he have learned to support himself even from David, by his entire dependence upon God; and that before our Saviour had advanced the notions of religion to the height and perfection wherewith he hath instructed his disciples? Plato himself, with all his refinements, placed happiness in wisdom, health, good fortune, honour, and riches; and held that they who enjoyed all these were perfectly happy: Which opinion was indeed unworthy it's owner, leaving the wife and the good man wholly at the mercy of uncertain chance, and to be miserable without resource.

His scholar, Aristotle, fell more grossly into the same notion; and plainly affirmed, That virtue, without the goods of fortune, was not sufficient for happiness, but that a wise man must be miserable in poverty and sickness. Nay, Diogenes himself, from whose pride and singularity one would have looked for other notions, delivered it as his opinion, That a poor old man was the most miserable thing in life.

Zeno also and his followers fell into many absurdities, among which nothing could be greater than that of maintaining all crimes to be equal, which, instead of making vice hateful, rendered it as a thing indifferent and familiar to all men.

Lastly, Epicurus had no notion of justice but as it was profitable; and his placing happiness in pleasure, with all the advantages he could expound it by, was liable to very great exception: For, although he taught that pleasure did consist in virtue, yet he did not any way fix or ascertain the boundaries of virtue, as he ought to have done; by which means he misled his followers into the greatest vices, making their names to become odious and scandalous, even in the Heathen world.

I have produced these few instances from a great many others, to shew the imperfection of Heathen philosophy, wherein I have confined myself wholly to their morality. And surely we may pronounce upon it in the words of St. James, that *This wisdom descended not from above, but was earthly and sensual*. What if I had produced their absurd notions about God and the soul?

It would then have compleated the character given it by that Apostle, and appeared to have been devilish too. But it is easy to observe, from the nature of these few particulars, that their defects in morals were purely the flagging and fainting of the mind, for want of a support by revelation from God.

I proceed therefore, in the third place, to shew the perfection of Christian wisdom from above, and I shall endeavour to make it appear from those proper characters and marks of it by the Apostle before-mentioned, in the third chapter, and 15th, 16th, and 17th verses.

The words run thus:

This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish. For where envying and strife is, there is confusion, and every evil work.

But the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.

The wisdom from above is first pure. This purity of the mind and spirit is peculiar to the gospel. Our Saviour says, *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.* A mind free from all pollution of lusts shall have a daily vision of God, whereof unrevealed religion can form no notion. This is it which keeps us unspotted from the world; and hereby many have been prevailed upon to live in the practice of all purity, holiness, and righteousness, far beyond the examples of the most celebrated philosophers.

It is peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated. The Christian doctrine teacheth us all those dispositions that make us affable and courteous, gentle and kind, without any morose leaven of pride or vanity, which entered into the composition of most Heathen schemes: So we are taught to be meek and lowly. Our Saviour's last legacy was Peace; and he commands us to forgive our offending brother unto seventy times seven. Christian wisdom is full of mercy and good works, teaching the height of all moral virtues, of which the Heathens fall infinitely short. Plato indeed (and it is worth observing) has somewhere a
dialogue,

dialogue, or part of one, about forgiving our enemies, which was perhaps the highest strain ever reached by man, without divine assistance; yet how little is that to what our Saviour commands us? *To love them that hate us; to bless them that curse us; and do good to them that despitefully use us.*

Christian wisdom is *without partiality*; it is not calculated for this or that nation or people, but the whole race of mankind: Not to the philosophical schemes, which were narrow and confined, adapted to their peculiar towns, governments, or sects; but, in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.

Lastly, It is *without hypocrisy*: It appears to be what it really is; it is all of a piece. By the doctrines of the gospel we are so far from being allowed to publish to the world those virtues we have not, that we are commanded to hide, even from ourselves, those we really have, and not to let our right hand know what our left hand does; unlike several branches of the Heathen wisdom, which pretended to teach insensibility and indifference, magnanimity and contempt of life, while, at the same time, in other parts it belied its own doctrines.

I come now, in the last place, to shew that the great examples of wisdom and virtue, among the Grecian sages, were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any particular sect; whereas, in Christianity, it is quite the contrary.

The two virtues most celebrated by antient moralists were fortitude and temperance, as relating to the government of man in his private capacity, to which their schemes were generally addressed and confined; and the two instances, wherein those virtues arrived at the greatest height, were Socrates and Cato. But neither those, nor any other virtues possessed by these two, were at all owing to any lessons or doctrines of a sect. For Socrates himself was of none at all; and although Cato was called a Stoic, it was more from a resemblance of manners in his worst qualities, than that he avowed himself one of their disciples. The same may be affirmed of many other great men

of antiquity. From whence I infer, that those who were renowned for virtue among them, were more obliged to the good natural dispositions of their own minds, than to the doctrines of any sect they pretended to follow.

On the other side, As the examples of fortitude and patience, among the primitive Christians, have been infinitely greater and more numerous, so they were altogether the product of their principles and doctrine; and were such as the same persons, without those aids, would never have arrived to. Of this truth most of the apostles, with many thousand martyrs, are a cloud of witnesses beyond exception. Having therefore spoken so largely upon the former heads, I shall dwell no longer upon this.

And, if it should here be objected, Why does not Christianity still produce the same effects? it is easy to answer, First, That although the number of pretended Christians be great, yet that of true believers, in proportion to the other, was never so small; and it is a true lively faith alone, that by the assistance of God's grace, can influence our practice.

Secondly, we may answer, That Christianity itself has very much suffered by being blended up with Gentile philosophy. The Platonic system, first taken into religion, was thought to have given matter for some early heresies in the church. When disputes began to arise, the Peripatetic forms were introduced by Scotus, as best fitted for controversy. And, however this may now have become necessary, it was surely the author of a litigious vein, which has since occasioned very pernicious consequences, stopt the progress of Christianity, and been a great promoter of vice, verifying that sentence given by St. James, and mentioned before, *Where envying and strife is, there is confusion, and every evil work.* This was the fatal stop to the Grecians, in their progress both of arts and arms: Their wise men were divided under several sects, and their governments under several commonwealths, all in opposition to each other; which engaged them in eternal quarrels among themselves, while they should have been armed against the common enemy. And I

with we had no other examples from the like causes, less foreign or antient than that. Diogenes said Socrates was a madman; the disciples of Zeno and Epicurus, nay of Plato and Aristotle, were engaged in fierce disputes about the most insignificant trifles. And, if this be the present language and practice among us Christians, no wonder that Christianity does not still produce the same effects which it did at first, when it was received and embraced in its utmost purity and perfection. For such a wisdom as this cannot *descend from above*, but must be *earthly, sensual, devilish; full of confusion and every evil work*: Whereas the wisdom from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy. This is the true heavenly wisdom, which Christianity only can boast of, and which the greatest of the Heathen wise men could never arrive at.

Now to God the Father, &c. &c.



UPON GIVING

B A D G E S

T O

T H E P O O R *.

THE continual concourse of beggars, from all parts of the kingdom to this city, having made it impossible for the several parishes to maintain their own poor, according to the antient laws of the land; several Lord Mayors did apply themselves to the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, that his Grace would direct his clergy, and the church-wardens of the said city, to appoint badges of brass, copper, or pewter, to be worn by the poor of the several parishes. The badges to be marked with the initial letters of the name of each church, and numbered 1, 2, 3, &c. and to be well sewed and fastened on the right and left shoulder of the outward garment of each of the said poor, by which they might be distinguished. And that none of the said poor should go out of their own parish to beg alms; whereof the beadles were to take care.

His Grace, the Lord Archbishop, did accordingly give his directions to the clergy; which, however, have proved wholly ineffectual, by the fraud, perverseness, or pride of the said poor, several of them openly protesting they will never submit to wear the said badges, and of those who received them, almost every one keep them in their pockets, or hang them on a string about their necks, or fasten them only with a pin, or wear them under their coats, not to be seen. By which means the whole

* See a Treatise on this Subject, Vol. VI. part I. p. 42.

design is eluded, so that a man may walk from one end of the town to the other, without seeing one beggar regularly badged, and in such great numbers, that they are a mighty nuisance to the public, most of them being foreigners.

It is therefore proposed, That his Grace the Lord Archbishop would please to call the clergy of the city together, and renew his directions and exhortations to them, to put this affair of badges effectually in practice, by such methods as his Grace and they shall agree upon. And I think it would be highly necessary, that some paper should be pasted up, in several proper parts of the city, signifying this order, and exhorting all people to give no alms except to those poor who are regularly badged, and only while they are within the precincts of their own parishes. And, if something like this were delivered by the ministers, in the reading-desk, two or three Lord's-days successively, it would still be of further use to put this matter upon a right foot. And that all who offend against this regulation be treated as vagabonds and sturdy beggars.

Deanry-house,
Sept. 26, 1726.



CONSIDER-

CONSIDERATIONS

ABOUT

MAINTAINING THE POOR.

WE have been amused, for at least thirty years past, with numberless schemes in writing and discourse, both in and out of parliament, for maintaining the poor, and setting them to work, especially in this city; most of which were idle, indigested, or visionary, and all of them ineffectual, as it hath plainly appeared by the consequences. Many of those projectors were so stupid, that they drew a parallel from Holland and England, to be settled in Ireland; that is to say, from two countries with full freedom and encouragement for trade, to a third where all kind of trade is cramped, and the most beneficial parts are entirely taken away. But the perpetual infelicity of false and foolish reasoning, as well as proceeding and acting upon it, seems to be fatal to this country.

For my own part, who have much conversed with those folks who call themselves Merchants, I do not remember to have met with a more ignorant and wrong thinking race of people in the very first rudiments of trade; which, however, was not so much owing to their want of capacity, as to the crazy constitution of this kingdom, where pedlars are better qualified to thrive than the wisest merchants. I could fill a volume with only setting down a list of the public absurdities, by which this kingdom hath suffered within the compass of my own memory, such as could not be believed of any nation, among whom folly was not established as a law. I cannot forbear instancing a few of these, because it may be of some use

use to those who shall have it in their power to be more cautious for the future.

The first was the building of the barracks, whereof I have seen above one half, and have heard enough of the rest, to affirm that the public hath been cheated of at least two thirds of the money raised for that use by the plain fraud of the undertakers.

Another was the management of the money raised for the Palatines; when, instead of employing that great sum in purchasing lands in some remote and cheap part of the kingdom, and there planting those people as a colony, the whole end was utterly defeated.

A third is the insurance-office against fire, by which several thousand pounds are yearly remitted to England (a trifle it seems we can easily spare), and will gradually encrease until it comes to a good national tax. For the society-marks upon our houses (under which might properly be written, *The Lord have mercy upon us*) spread faster and farther than the * colony of frogs. I have, for above twenty years past, given warning several thousand times, to many substantial people, and to such who are acquainted with Lords and Squires, and the like great folks, (to any of whom I have not the honour to be known:) I mentioned my daily fears, lest our watchful friends in England might take this business out of our hands; and how easy it would be to prevent that evil, by erecting a society of persons who had good estates, such, for instance, as that noble knot of

* This similitude, which is certainly the finest that could possibly have been used upon this occasion, seems to require a short explication. About the beginning of this current century, Doctor Gwythers, a physician and Fellow of the University of Dublin, brought over with him a parcel of frogs from England to Ireland, in order to propagate the species in that kingdom, and threw them into the ditches of the University-park; but they all perished. Whereupon he sent to England for some bottles of the frog-spawn, which he threw into those ditches, by which means the species of frogs was propagated in that kingdom. However, their number was so small in the year 1720, that a frog was no where to be seen in Ireland, except in the neighbourhood of the University-park: But, within six or seven years after, they spread thirty, forty, and fifty miles over the country; and so at last, by degrees, over the whole nation.

bankers

bankers under the style of Swift and Company. But now we are become tributary to England, not only for materials to light our own fires; but for engines to put them out; to which, if hearth-money be added, (repealed in England as a grievance) we have the honour to pay three taxes for fire.

A fourth was the knavery of those merchants, or linen-manufacturers, or both; when, upon occasion of the plague at Marfeilles, we had a fair opportunity of getting into our hands the whole linen-trade with Spain; but the commodity was so bad, and held at so high a rate, that almost the whole cargo was returned, and the small remainder sold below the prime cost.

So many other particulars of the same nature crowd into my thoughts, that I am forced to stop, and the rather because they are not very proper for my subject, to which I shall now return.

Among all the schemes for maintaining the poor of the city, and setting them to work, the least weight hath been laid upon that single point which is of greatest importance; I mean that of keeping foreign beggars from swarming hither out of every part of the country; for, until this be brought to pass effectually, all our wise reasonings and proceedings upon them will be vain and ridiculous.

The prodigious number of beggars throughout this kingdom, in proportion to so small a number of people, is owing to many reasons: To the laziness of the natives; the want of work to employ them; the enormous rents paid by cottagers for their miserable cabbins and potatoe-plots; their early marriages, without the least prospect of establishment; the ruin of agriculture, whereby such vast numbers are hindered from providing their own bread, and have no money to purchase it; the mortal damp upon all kinds of trade, and many other circumstances too tedious or invidious to mention.

And to the same causes we owe the perpetual concourse of foreign beggars to this town, the country landlords giving all assistance, except money and victuals, to drive from their estates those miserable creatures they have undone.

It

It was a general complaint against the poor-house, under its former governors, that the number of poor in this city did not lessen by taking three hundred into the house, and all of them recommended under the minister and church-warden's hands of the several parishes; and this complaint must still continue, although the poor-house should be enlarged to maintain three thousand, or even double that number.

The revenues of the poor-house, as it is now established, amount to about two thousand pounds a year; whereof, two hundred allowed for officers, and one hundred for repairs, the remaining seventeen hundred, at four pounds a head, will support four hundred and twenty-five persons. This is a favourable allowance, considering that I subtract nothing for the diet of those officers, and for wear and tare of furniture; and, if every one of these collegiates should be set to work, it is agreed they will not be able to gain by their labour above one fourth part of their maintenance.

At the same time the oratorical part of these gentlemen seldom vouchsafe to mention fewer than fifteen hundred, or two thousand people, to be maintained in this hospital, without troubling their heads about the fund, * * * * *

* * * * *



TO HIS GRACE

W I L L I A M,
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, &c.

The humble Representation of the CLERGY of the
City of DUBLIN.

MY LORD,

Jan. 1724.

YOUR Grace having been pleased to communicate to us a certain brief, by letters patents, for the relief of one Charles M'Carthy, whose house in College-green, Dublin, was burnt by an accidental fire; and having desired us to consider of the said brief, and give our opinions thereof to your Grace;

We the clergy of the city of Dublin, in compliance with your Grace's desire, and with great acknowledgments for your paternal tenderness towards us, having maturely considered the said brief by letters patents, compared the several parts of it with what is enjoined us by the rubric, (which is confirmed by act of parliament) and consulted persons skilled in the laws of the church; do, in the names of ourselves and of the rest of our brethren, the clergy of the diocese of Dublin, most humbly represent to your Grace:

First, That, by this brief, your Grace is required and commanded, to recommend and command all the parsons, vicars, &c. to advance so great an act of charity.

We shall not presume to determine how far your Grace may be commanded by the said brief; but we humbly conceive that the clergy of your diocese cannot, by any law now in being, be commanded by your Grace to advance the said act of charity, any other ways than by reading the said brief in our several churches, as prescribed by the rubric.

Secondly,

Secondly, Whereas it is said in the said brief, that the parson, vicars, &c. upon the first Lord's-day, or opportunity after the receipt of the copy of the said brief, shall, deliberately and affectionately, publish and declare the tenor thereof to his Majesty's subjects, and earnestly persuade, exhort, and stir them up to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of the said sufferer;

We do not comprehend what is meant by the word *opportunity*. We never do preach upon any day except the Lord's-day, or some solemn days legally appointed; neither is it possible for the strongest constitution among us to obey this command (which includes no less than a whole sermon) upon any other opportunity than when our people are met together in the church; and to perform this work in every house where the parishes are very populous, consisting sometimes here in town of 900 or 1000 houses, would take up the space of a year, although we should preach in two families every day; and almost as much time in the country, where the parishes are of large extent, the roads bad, and the people too poor to receive us, and give charity at once.

But, if it be meant that these exhortations are commanded to be made in the church, upon the Lord's-day, we are humbly of opinion, that it is left to the discretion of the clergy, to chuse what subjects they think most proper to preach on, and at what times; and, if they preach either false doctrine or seditious principles, they are liable to be punished.

It may possibly happen that the sufferer recommended may be a person not deserving the favour intended by the brief; in which case no minister, who knows the sufferer to be an undeserving person, can with a safe conscience deliberately and affectionately publish the brief, much less earnestly persuade, exhort, and stir up the people to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of such a sufferer*.

* This McCarthy's house was burnt in the month of August 1723, and the universal opinion of mankind was, that McCarthy himself was the person who had set fire to the house.

Thirdly, Whereas in the said brief the ministers and curates are required, on the week-days next after the Lord's-day when the brief was read, to go from house to house, with their church-wardens, to ask and receive from all persons the said charity: We cannot but observe here, that the said ministers are directly made collectors of the said charity in conjunction with the church-wardens; which however, we presume, was not intended, as being against all law and precedent: And therefore, we apprehend, there may be some inconsistency, which leaves us at a loss how to proceed. For, in the next paragraph, the ministers and curates are only required, where they conveniently can, to accompany the church-wardens, or procure some other of the chief inhabitants, to do the same. And, in a following paragraph, the whole work seems left entirely to the church-wardens, who are required to use their utmost diligence to gather and collect the said charity, and to pay the same, in ten days after, to the parson, vicar, &c.

In answer to this, we do represent to your Grace our humble opinion, that neither we nor our church-wardens can be legally commanded or required to go from house to house to receive the said charity; because your Grace hath informed us in your order, at your visitation *An. Dom. 1712*, that neither we nor our church-wardens are bound to make any collections for the poor, save in the church; which also appears plainly by the rubric, that appoints both time and place, as your Grace hath observed in your said order.

We do likewise assure your Grace, that it is not in our power to procure some of the chief inhabitants of our parishes to accompany the church-wardens from house to house in these collections: And we have reason to believe, that such a proposal, made to our chief inhabitants (particularly in this city, where our chief inhabitants are often peers of the land) would be received in a manner very little to our own satisfaction, or to the advantage of the said collections.

Fourthly, The brief doth will, require, and command the bishops, and all other dignitaries of the church, that they make
their

their contributions distinctly, to be returned in the several provinces to the several archbishops of the same.

Upon which we take leave to observe that the terms of expression here are of the strongest kind, and in a point that may subject the said dignitaries (for we shall say nothing of the bishops) to great inconveniencies.

The said dignitaries are here willed, required, and commanded to make their contributions distinctly; by which it should seem that they are absolutely commanded to make contributions (for the word *distinctly* is but a circumstance), and may be understood not very agreeable to a voluntary, chearful contribution. And therefore, if any bishop or dignitary should refuse to make his contribution, (perhaps for very good reasons) he may be thought to incur the crime of disobedience to his Majesty, which all good subjects abhor, when such a command is according to law.

Most dignities of this kingdom consist only of parochial tythes, and the dignitaries are ministers of parishes. A doubt may therefore arise, whether the said dignitaries are willed, required, and commanded, to make their contributions in both capacities, distinctly as dignitaries, and jointly as parsons or vicars.

Many dignities in this kingdom are the poorest kind of benefices; and it should seem hard to put poor dignitaries under the necessity either of making greater contributions than they can afford, or of exposing themselves to the censure of wanting charity, by making their contributions public.

Our Saviour commands us, in works of charity, to *let not our left hand know what our right hand doeth*; which cannot well consist with our being willed, required, and commanded by any earthly power, where no law is prescribed, to publish our charity to the world, if we have a mind to conceal it.

Fifthly, Whereas it is said in the said brief, that the parson, vicar, &c. of every parish, shall, in six days after the receipt of the said charity, return it to his respective chancellor, &c. This may be a great grievance, hazard, and expence to the said parson, in remote and desolate parts of the country, where often an honest messenger (if such a one can be got) must be hired

hired to travel forty or fifty miles going and coming; which will probably cost more than the value of the contribution he carries with him. And this charge, if briefs should happen to be frequent, would be enough to undo many a poor clergyman in the kingdom.

Sixthly, We observe in the said brief, that the provost and fellows of the university, judges, officers of the courts, and professors of laws common and civil, are neither willed, required, nor commanded to make their contributions; but that so good a work is only recommended to them. Whereas we conceive, that all his Majesty's subjects are equally obliged, with or without his Majesty's commands, to promote works of charity according to their power; and that the clergy, in their ecclesiastical capacity, are only liable to such commands as the rubric, or any other law shall enjoin, being born to the same privileges of freedom with the rest of his Majesty's subjects.

We cannot but observe to your Grace, that, in the English act of the fourth year of Queen Anne, for the better collecting charity-money on briefs by letters patent, &c. the ministers are obliged only to read the briefs in their churches, without any particular exhortations; neither are they commanded to go from house to house with the church-wardens, nor to send the money collected to their respective chancellors, but pay it to the undertaker or agent of the sufferer. So that, we humbly hope, the clergy of this kingdom shall not, without any law in being, be put to greater hardships in this case than their brethren in England, where the legislature, intending to prevent the abuses in collecting charity-money on briefs, did not think fit to put the clergy under any of those difficulties we now complain of, in the present brief by letters patent, for the relief of Charles M'Carthy afore said.

The collections upon the Lord's-day are the principal support of our own numerous poor in our several parishes; and therefore every single brief, with the benefit of a full collection over the whole kingdom, must deprive several thousands of poor of their weekly maintenance, for the sake only of one person, who often becomes a sufferer by his own folly or negligence,

gence, and is sure to overvalue his losses double or treble: So that, if this precedent be followed, as it certainly will if the present brief should succeed, we may probably have a new brief every week; and thus, for the advantage of fifty-two persons, whereof not one in ten is deserving, and for the interest of a dozen dextrous clerks and secretaries, the whole poor in the kingdom will be likely to starve.

We are credibly informed, that neither the officers of the Lord Primate, in preparing the report of his Grace's opinion, nor those of the great-seal, in passing the patent for briefs, will remit any of their fees, both which do amount to a considerable sum: And thus the good intentions of well-disposed people are in a great measure disappointed, a large part of their charity being anticipated, and alienated by fees and gratuities.

Lastly, We cannot but represent to your Grace our great concern and grief, to see the pains and labour of our churchwardens so much encreased, by the injunctions and commands put upon them in this brief, to the great disadvantage of the clergy and the people, as well as to their own trouble, damage, and loss of time, to which great additions have been already made, by laws appointing them to collect the taxes for the watch and the poor-house, which they bear with great unwillingness; and, if they shall find themselves further laden with such briefs as this of McCarthy, it will prove so great a discouragement, that we shall never be able to provide honest and sufficient persons for that weighty office of church-warden, so necessary to the laity as well as the clergy, in all things that relate to the order and regulation of parishes.

Upon all these considerations, we humbly hope that your Grace, of whose fatherly care, vigilance, and tenderness, we have had so many and great instances, will represent our case to his Most Excellent Majesty, or to the Chief Governor in this kingdom, in such a manner, that we may be neither under the necessity of declining his Majesty's commands in his letters patent, or of taking new and grievous burthens upon ourselves and our churchwardens, to which neither the rubric nor any other law in force oblige us to submit.

A N S W E R

B I C K E R S T A F F.

*Some Reflections upon Mr. Bickerstaff's Predictions for the
Year M DCC VIII. **

BY A PERSON OF QUALITY.

I HAVE not observed, for some years past, any insignificant paper to have made more noise, or be more greedily bought, than that of these predictions. They are the wonder of the common people, an amusement for the better sort, and a jest only to the wise; yet, among these last, I have heard some very much in doubt, whether the author meant to deceive others, or is deceived himself. Whoever he was, he seems to have with great art adjusted his paper both to please the rabble and to entertain persons of condition. The writer is, without question, a gentleman of wit and learning, although the piece seems hastily written in a sudden frolic, with the scornful thought of the pleasure he will have, in putting this great town into a wonderment about nothing: Nor do I doubt but he and his friends in the secret, laugh often and plentifully in a corner, to reflect how many hundred thousand fools they have already made. And he has them fast for some time: For so they are like to continue until his prophecies begin to fail in the events. Nay, it is a great question whether the miscarriage of the two or three first will so entirely undeceive people, as to hinder them from expecting the accomplishing of the

* See Vol. II. part I. p. 146.

rest.

rest. I doubt not but some thousands of these papers are carefully preserved by as many persons, to confront with the events, and try whether the astrologer exactly keeps the day and the hour. And these I take to be Mr. Bickerstaff's choicest cullies, for whose sake chiefly he writ his amusement. Meanwhile he has seven weeks good, during which time the world is to be kept in suspense; for it is so long before the almanack-maker is to die, which is the first prediction: And, if that fellow happens to be a splenetic visionary fop, or has any faith in his own art, the prophesy may punctually come to pass by very natural means. As a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was ill-used by a mercer in town, writ him a letter in an unknown hand, to give him notice that care had been taken to convey a slow poison into his drink, which would infallibly kill him in a month; after which the man began in earnest to languish and decay, by the mere strength of imagination, and would certainly have died, if care had not been taken to undeceive him before the jest went too far. The like effect upon Partridge would wonderfully raise Mr. Bickerstaff's reputation for a fortnight longer, until we could hear from France whether the Cardinal de Noailles were dead or alive upon the fourth of April, which is the second of his predictions.

For a piece so carelessly written, the observations upon astrology are reasonable and pertinent, the remarks just; and, as the paper is partly designed, in my opinion, for a satire upon the credulity of the vulgar, and that idle itch of peeping into futurities, so it is no more than what we all of us deserve. And, since we must be teased with perpetual hawkers of *strange and wonderful* things, I am glad to see a man of sense find leisure and humour to take up the trade for his own and our diversion. To speak in the town-pharse, it is a *bite*; he has fully had his jest, and may be satisfied.

I very much approve the serious air he gives himself in his introduction and conclusion, which has gone far to give some people of no mean rank an opinion that the author believes himself. He tells us, "He places the whole credit of his art

“ on the truth of these predictions, and will be content to be
 “ hooted by Partridge and the rest for a cheat, if he fails in
 “ any one particular;” with several other strains of the same
 kind, wherein I perfectly believe him; and that he is very in-
 different whether *Isaac Bickerstaff* be a *mark of infamy* or not. But
 it seems, although he has joined an odd surname to no very
 common Christian one, that in this large town there is a man
 found to own both the names, although, I believe, not the
 paper.

I believe it is no small mortification to this gentleman astro-
 loger, as well as his bookseller, to find their piece, which they
 sent out in a tolerable print and paper, immediately seized on
 by three or four interloping printers of Grubstreet, the title
 stuffed with an abstract of the whole matter, together with
 the standard epithets of *strange and wonderful*, the price brought
 down a full half, which was but a penny in its prime, and
 bawled about by hawkers of the inferior class, with the con-
 cluding cadence of *A halfpenny apiece*. But *sic cecidit Phaeton*: And,
 to comfort him a little, this production of mine will have the
 same fate: To-morrow will my ears be grated by the *little boys*
 and *wenches in straw-bats*, and I must an hundred times undergo
 the mortification to have my own work offered me to sale at
 an under-value. Then, which is a great deal worse, my
 acquaintance in the coffee-house will ask me whether I have
 seen the Answer to 'Squire Bickerstaff's predictions, and whether
 I know the puppy that writ it: And how to keep a man's
 countenance in such a juncture is no easy point of conduct.
 When, in this case, you see a man shy either in praising or
 condemning, ready to turn off the discourse to another subject,
 standing as little in the light as he can to hide his blushing,
 pretending to sneeze or take snuff, or go off as if sudden business
 called him; then ply him close, observe his looks narrowly, see
 whether his speech be constrained or affected, then charge him
 suddenly, or whisper and smile, and you will soon discover
 whether he be guilty. Although this seem not to the purpose I
 am discoursing on, yet I think it to be so; for I am much de-
 ceived

ceived if I do not know the true author of Bickerstaff's Predictions, and did not meet with him some days ago in a coffee-house at Covent Garden.

As to the matter of the Predictions themselves, I shall not enter upon the examination of them; but think it very incumbent upon the learned Mr. Partridge to take them into his consideration, and lay as many errors in astrology as possible to Mr. Bickerstaff's account. He may justly, I think, challenge the 'Squire to publish the calculation he has made of Partridge's nativity, by the credit of which he so determinately pronounces the time and the manner of his death; and Mr. Bickerstaff can do no less, in honour, than give Mr. Partridge the same advantage of calculating *his*, by sending him an account of the time and place of his birth, with other particulars necessary for such a work. By which, no doubt, the learned world will be engaged in the dispute, and take part on each side according as they are inclined.

I should likewise advise Mr. Partridge to enquire, why Mr. Bickerstaff does not so much as offer at one prediction to be fulfilled until two months after the time of publishing his paper? This looks a little suspicious, as if he were desirous to keep the world in play as long as he decently could, else it were hard he could not afford us one prediction between this and the 29th of March; which is not so fair dealing as we have, even from Mr. Partridge and his brethren, who give us their predictions (such as they are indeed) for every month in the year.

There is one passage in Mr. Bickerstaff's paper that seems to be as high a strain of assurance as I have any where met with. It is that prediction for the month of June which relates to the French Prophets here in town; where he tells us, "They will utterly disperse, by seeing the time come wherein their prophecies should be fulfilled, and then finding themselves deceived by contrary events." Upon which he adds, with great reason, "his wonder how any deceiver can be so weak, to foretel things near at hand, when a very few months must

discover the imposture to all the world." This is spoken with a great deal of affected unconcernedness, as if he would have us think himself to be not under the least apprehension, that the same in two months will be his own case. With respect to the gentleman, I do not remember to have heard of so refined and pleasant a piece of impudence, which I hope the author will not resent as an uncivil word, because I am sure I enter into his taste, and take it as he meant it. However, he half deserves a reprimand for writing with so much scorn and contempt for the understandings of the majority.

For the month of July, he tells us of "a general, who, by a glorious action, will recover the reputation he lost by former misfortunes." This is commonly understood to be Lord Galloway; who, if he be already dead, as some news-papers have it, Mr. Bickerstaff has made a trip. But this I do not much insist on; for it is hard if *another general* cannot be found under the *same circumstances*, to whom this prediction may be as well applied.

The French King's death is very punctually related; but it was unfortunate to make him die at Marli, where he never goes at that season of the year, as I observed myself during three years I passed in that kingdom: And, discoursing some months ago with Monsieur Tallard, about the French court, I find that king never goes to Marli for any time, but about the season of hunting there, which is not till August. So that here was an unlucky slip of Mr. Bickerstaff, for want of foreign education.

He concludes with resuming his promise, of publishing entire predictions for the next year; of which the other astrologers need not be in very much pain. I suppose we shall have them much about the same time with *The General History of Fears*. I believe we have done with him for ever in this kind; and, though I am no astrologer, may venture to prophesy that Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq; is now dead, and died just at the time his Predictions were ready for the press: That he dropt out of the

the clouds about nine days ago, and, in about four hours after, mounted up thither again like a vapour; and will, one day or other, perhaps descend a second time, when he has some new, agreeable, or amusing whimfy to pass upon the town; wherein, it is very probable, he will succeed as often as he is disposed to try the experiment, that is, as long as he can preserve a thorough contempt for his own time and other people's understandings, and is resolved not to laugh cheaper than at the expence of a million of people.



H I N T S
O N
G O O D M A N N E R S *

GOOD MANNERS is the art of making every reasonable person in the company easy, and to be easy ourselves.

What passeth for good-manners in the world, generally produceth quite contrary effects.

Many persons of both sexes, whom I have known, and who passed for well-bred in their own and the world's opinion, are the most troublesome in company to others and themselves.

Nothing is so great an instance of ill manners as flattery. If you flatter all the company, you please none; if you flatter only one or two, you affront the rest.

Flattery is the worst, and falsest way of shewing our esteem.

Where company meets, I am confident the few reasonable persons are every minute tempted to curse the man or woman among them, who endeavours to be most distinguished for their good-manners.

A man of sense would rather fast till night, than dine at some tables, where the lady of the house is possessed with good-manners; uneasiness, pressing to eat, teasing with civility; less practised in England than here.

Courts are the worst of all schools to teach good-manners.

A courtly bow, or gait, or dress, are no part of good-manners. And therefore every man of good understanding is capable of being well-bred upon any occasion.

To speak in such a manner as may possibly offend any reasonable person in company, is the highest instance of ill-manners.

* See Vol. VII. part II. p. 116.

Good-manners chiefly consist in action, not in words. Modesty and humility the chief ingredients.

I have known the court of England under four reigns, the two last but for a short time; and, whatever good-manners or politeness I observed in any of them, was not of the court-growth, but imported. For a couriter by trade, as gentlemen-ushers, bedchamber-women, maids of honour, * * * *

* * * *

Of good manners as to conversation.

Men of wit and good understanding, as well as breeding, are sometimes deceived, and give offence by conceiving a better opinion of those with whom they converse than they ought to do. Thus I have often known the most innocent raillery, and even of that kind which was meant for praise, to be mistaken for abuse and reflection.

Of gibing, and how gibers ought to suffer.

Of arguers, perpetual contradictors, long talkers, who are absent in company, interrupters, not listeners, loud laughers.

Of those men and women whose face is ever in a smile, talk ever with a smile, condole with a smile, &c.

Argument, as usually managed, is the worst sort of conversation; as it is generally in books the worst sort of reading.

Good conversation is not to be expected in much company, because few listen, and there is continual interruption. But good or ill manners are discovered, let the company be ever so large.

Perpetual aiming at wit, a very bad part of conversation. It is done to support a character: It generally fails: It is a sort of insult on the company, and a constraint upon the speaker.

For a man to talk in his own trade, or business, or faculty, is a great breach of good manners. Divines, physicians, lawyers, soldiers, particularly poets, are frequently guilty of this weakness. A poet conceives that the whole kingdom * * * *

* * * *

RESOLU-

R E S O L U T I O N S

W H E N

I C O M E T O B E O L D.

Written in the Year MDCXCIX.

NOT to marry a young woman.

Not to keep young company, unless they really desire it.

Not to be peevish, or morose, or suspicious.

Not to scorn present ways, or wits, or fashions, or men, or war, &c.

Not to be fond of children.

Not to tell the same story over and over to the same people.

Not to be covetous.

Not to neglect decency, or cleanliness, for fear of falling into nastiness.

Not to be over severe with young people, but give allowances for their youthful follies and weaknesses.

Not to be influenced by, or give ear to knavish tattling servants, or others.

Not to be too free of advice, nor trouble any but those who desire it.

To desire some good friends to inform me which of these resolutions I break or neglect, and wherein; and reform accordingly.

Not to talk much, nor of myself.

Not to boast of my former beauty, or strength, or favour with ladies, &c.

Not to hearken to flatteries, nor conceive I can be beloved by a young woman; *et eos qui hereditatem captant, odisse ac vitare.*

Not to be positive or opiniative.

Not to set up for observing all these rules, for fear I should observe none.

L A W S

L A W S
FOR THE
D E A N ' s S E R V A N T S.
DECEMBER 7th, M DCCXXXIII.

IF either of the two men-servants be drunk, he shall pay an English crown out of his wages for the said offence, by giving the Dean a receipt for so much wages received.

When the Dean is at home, no servant shall presume to be absent, without giving notice to the Dean, and asking leave, upon the forfeiture of sixpence for every half-hour that he is absent, to be stopt out of his or her board-wages.

When the Dean is abroad, no servant, except the woman, shall presume to leave the house for above one half-hour; after which, for every half-hour's absence he shall forfeit sixpence: And, if the other servant goes out before the first returns, he shall pay five shillings out of his wages, as above.

Whatever servant shall be taken in a manifest lie, shall forfeit one shilling out of his or her board-wages.

When the Dean goes about the house, or out-houses, or garden, or to Naboth's Vineyard, whatever things he finds out of order, by neglect of any servant under whose care it was, that servant shall forfeit sixpence, and see to get it mended as soon as possible, or suffer more forfeitures at the Dean's discretion.

If two servants be abroad together when the Dean is from home, and the fact be concealed from the Dean, the concealer shall forfeit two crowns out of his or her wages, as above.

If, in waiting at table, the two servants be out of the room together, without orders, the last who went out shall forfeit threepence out of his board-wages.

The woman may go out when the Dean is abroad for one hour, but no longer, under the same penalty with the men: But provided the two men-servants keep the house until she returns; otherwise, either of the servants, who goes out before her return, shall forfeit a crown out of his wages, as above.

Whatever other laws the Dean shall think fit to make, at any time to come, for the government of his servants, and forfeitures for neglect or disobedience, all the servants shall be bound to submit to.

Whatever other servant, except the woman, shall presume to be drunk, the other two servants shall inform the Dean thereof, under pain of forfeiting two crowns out of his or her wages, besides the forfeiture of a crown from the said servant who was drunk.



A
Q U A K E R's

LETTER from PHILADELPHIA.

T O

JONATHAN SWIFT IN DUBLIN.

Friend Jonathan Swift,

Chilad, March 29, 1729.

HAVING been often agreeably amused by thy Tale, &c. &c. and being now loading a small ship for Dublin, I have sent thee a gammon, the product of the wilds of America; which perhaps may not be unacceptable at thy table, since it is only designed to let thee know that thy wit and parts are in esteem at this distance from the place of thy residence. Thee need ask no questions who this comes from, since I am a perfect stranger to thee.



C H A R A C T E R

O F

M R S . H * * * * D .

Written in the Year MDCCXXVII.

I SHALL say nothing of her wit or beauty, which are allowed by all persons who can judge of either, when they hear or see her. Besides, beauty being transient, and a trifle, cannot justly make part of a character. And I leave others to celebrate her wit, because it will be of no use in that part of her character which I intend to draw. Neither shall I relate any part of her history; further than, that she went, in the prime of her youth, to the Court of Hanover with her husband, and became of the Bed-chamber to the present Princess of Wales, living in expectation of the Queen's * death: Upon which event she came over with her Mistress, and hath ever since continued in her service; where, from the attendance daily paid her by the ministers, and all expectants, she is reckoned much the greatest favourite of the court at Leicester-house: A situation which she hath long affected to desire that it might not be believed.

There is no politician who more carefully watches the motions and dispositions of things and persons at St. James's, nor can form his language with a more imperceptible dexterity to the present posture of a court, or more early foresee what style may be proper upon any approaching juncture of affairs, whereof she can gather early intelligence without asking it, and often when even those from whom she hath it are not sensible that they are giving it to her, but equally with others.

* Queen Anne.

admire

admire her sagacity. Sir Robert Walpole and she both think they understand each other, and are both equally mistaken.

With persons where she is to manage, she is very dextrous in that point of skill which the French call *tâter le pavé*; with others she is a great vindicator of all present proceedings, but in such a manner, as if she were under no concern further than her own conviction, and wondering how any body can think otherwise. And the danger is, that she may come in time to believe herself; which, under a change of princes and a great addition of credit, might have bad consequences. She is a most unconscionable dealer; for, in return of a few good words, which she gives to her lords and gentlemen daily waiters before their faces, she gets ten thousand from them behind her back, which are of real service to her character. The credit she hath is managed with the utmost thrift; and, whenever she employs it, which is very rarely, it is only upon such occasions where she is sure to get much more than she spends. For instance, she would readily press Sir Robert Walpole to do some favour for Colonel Churchill, or Doddington; the Prince, for a mark of grace to Mr. Schutz; and the Princess, to be kind to Mrs. Clayton. She sometimes falls into the general mistake of all courtiers, which is that of not suiting her talents to the abilities of others, but thinking those she deals with to have less art than they really possess; so that she may possibly be deceived when she thinks she deceiveth.

In all offices of life, except those of a courtier, she acts with justice, generosity, and truth. She is ready to do good as a private person, and I would almost think in charity that she will not do harm as a courtier, unless to please those in chief power.

In religion she is at least a Latitudinarian, being not an enemy to books written by the Free-thinkers; and herein she is the more blameable, because she hath too much morality to stand in need of them, requiring only a due degree of faith for putting her in the road to salvation. I speak this of her as a private Lady, not as a Court-favourite; for, in the latter capacity, she

can

can shew neither faith nor works. If she had never seen a court, it is not impossible that she might have been a friend.

She abounds in good words and expressions of good wishes, and will concert a hundred schemes for the service of those whom she would be thought to favour: Schemes that sometimes arise from them, and sometimes from herself; although, at the same time, she very well knows them to be without the least probability of succeeding. But, to do her justice, she never feeds or deceives any person with promises, where she doth not at the same time intend a degree of sincerity.

She is, upon the whole, an excellent companion for men of the best accomplishments, who have nothing to desire or expect.

What part she may act hereafter in a larger sphere, as Lady of the Bed-chamber to a great Q—n, (upon supposing the death of his present Majesty *, and of the Earl of Suffolk, to whose title her husband succeeds) and in high esteem with a K—g, neither she nor I can foretel. My own opinion is natural and obvious, that her talents as a courtier will spread, enlarge, and multiply to such a degree, that her private virtues, for want of room and time to operate, will be laid up clean (like clothes in a chest), to be used and put on, whenever satiety, or some reverse of fortune, or encrease of ill health, (to which last she is subject) shall dispose her to retire. In the mean-time, it will be her wisdom to take care that they may not be tarnished or moth-eaten, for want of airing and turning at least once a year.

* George the First.



CHARAC-

CHARACTER OF DOCTOR SHERIDAN.

Written in the Year M DCC XXXVIII.

DOCTOR THOMAS SHERIDAN died at Rathfarnham the tenth of October 1738, at three of the clock in the afternoon: His diseases were a dropfy and asthma. He was doubtless the best instructor of youth in these kingdoms, or perhaps in Europe; and as great a master of the Greek and Roman languages. He had a very fruitful invention, and a talent for poetry: His English verses were full of wit and humour, but neither his prose nor verse sufficiently correct: However, he would readily submit to any friend who had a true taste in prose or verse. He hath left behind him a very great collection, in several volumes, of stories, humorous, witty, wise, or some way useful, gathered from a vast number of Greek, Roman, Italian, Spanish, French, and English writers. I believe I may have seen about thirty, large enough to make as many moderate books in octavo. But, among those extracts, there were many not worth regard; for five in six, at least, were of little use or entertainment. He was (as it is frequently the case in men of wit and learning) what the French call a *Dupe*, and in a very high degree. The greatest dunce of a tradesman could impose upon him, for he was altogether ignorant in worldly management. His chief shining quality was that of a school-master; here he shone in his proper element. He had so much skill and practice in the physiognomy of boys, that he rarely mistook at the first view. His scholars loved and feared him. He often rather chose to shame the stupid, but punished the idle,

idle, and exposed them to all the lads, which was more severe than lashing. Among the gentlemen in this kingdom who have any share of education, the scholars of Dr. Sheridan infinitely excel, in number and knowledge, all their brethren sent from other schools.

To look on the Doctor in some other lights, he was in many things very indiscreet, to say no worse. He acted like too many clergymen, who are in haste to be married when very young; and from hence proceeded all the miseries of his life. The portion he got proved to be just the reverse of 500 l. for he was poorer by a thousand: So many incumbrances of a mother-in-law, and poor relations, whom he was forced to support for many years. Instead of breeding up his daughters to housewifery and plain cloaths, he got them, at a great expence, to be clad like ladies who had plentiful fortunes; made them only learn to sing and dance, to draw and design, to give them rich silks, and other fopperies; and his two eldest were married without his consent, to young lads who had nothing to settle on them. However, he had one son, whom the Doctor sent to Westminster school, although he could ill afford it. The boy was there immediately taken notice of, upon examination; although a mere stranger, he was by pure merit elected a King's scholar. It is true their maintenance falls something short: The Doctor was then so poor that he could not add fourteen pounds, to enable the boy to finish the year; which, if he had done, he would have been removed to a higher class, and, in another year, would have been sped off (that is the phrase) to a Fellowship in Oxford or Cambridge: But the Doctor was forced to recal him to Dublin, and had friends in our university to send him there, where he hath been chosen of the foundation; and, I think, hath gotten an exhibition, and designs to stand for a fellowship.

The Doctor had a good church-living, in the south parts of Ireland, given him by Lord Carteret; who, being very learned himself, encourageth it in others. A friend of the Doctor's prevailed on his Excellency to grant it. The living was well worth

150 *l. per annum*. He changed it very soon for that of Dunboyn; which, by the knavery of the farmers and power of the gentlemen, fell so very low, that he could never get 80 *l.* He then changed that living for the free-school of Cavan, where he might have lived well, in so cheap a country, on 80 *l. salary per annum*, besides his scholars: But the air, he said, was too moist and unwholesome, and he could not bear the company of some persons in that neighbourhood. Upon this he sold the school for about 400 *l.* spent the money, grew into diseases, and died.

It would be very honourable as well as just, in those many persons of quality and fortune, who had the advantage of being educated under Doctor Sheridan, if they would please to erect some decent monument over his body in the church where it is deposited.



THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND SOLOMON.

Written in the Year M DCC XXIX.

HE became acquainted with a person distinguished for poetical and other writings, and in an eminent station, who treated him with great kindness on all occasions, and he became familiar in this person's house †. In three months time, Solomon, without the least provocation, writ a long poem, describing that person's muse to be dead, and making a funeral solemnity with asses, owls, &c. and gave the copy among all his acquaintance.

Solomon became acquainted with a most deserving lady, an intimate friend of the above person †, who entertained him also as she would a brother; and, upon giving him a little good advice in the most decent manner, with relation to his wife, he told her, She was like other women, as bad as she was, and that they were all alike: Although his wife be, in every regard except gallantry, (which no creature would attempt) the most disagreeable beast in Europe.

He lets his wife (whom he pretends to hate as she deserves) govern, insult, and ruin him, as she pleases. Her character is this: Her person is detestably disagreeable; a most filthy slut; lazy, and slothful, and luxurious, ill-natured, envious, suspicious; a scold, expensive on herself, covetous to others: She takes

* Dr. Sheridan.

† Dean Swift.

‡ Stella.

thieves and whores, for cheapness, to be her servants, and turns them off every week: Positive, insolent, an ignorant, prating, overweening fool; a lover of the dirtiest, meanest company: An abominable tatler, affecting to be jealous of her husband with ladies of the best rank and merit, and merely out of affectation for perfect vanity.

Solomon has no ill-design upon any person but himself, and he is the greatest deceiver of himself on all occasions.

His thoughts are sudden, and the most unreasonable always comes uppermost; and he constantly resolves and acts upon his first thoughts, and then asks advice, but never once before.

The person above-mentioned, whom he lampooned in three months after their acquaintance, procured him a good preferment from the Lord Lieutenant: Upon going down to take possession, Solomon preached, at Cork, a sermon on King George's birth-day, on this text, *Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof*. Solomon, having been famous for a high Tory, and suspected as a Jacobite, it was a most difficult thing to get any thing for him; But that person, being an old friend of Lord Carteret, prevailed against all Solomon's enemies, and got him made likewise one of his Excellency's chaplains. But, upon this sermon, he was struck out of the list, and forbid the Castle, until that same person brought him again to the Lieutenant, and made them friends.

A fancy sprung in Solomon's head, that a house near Dublin would be commodious for him and his boarders, to lodge in on Saturdays and Sundays: Immediately, without consulting with any creature, he takes a lease of a rotten house at Rathfarnham, the worst air in Ireland, for 999 years, at twelve pounds a year; the land, which was only a strip of ground, not being worth twenty shillings a year. When the same person whom he lampooned heard the thing, he begged Solomon to get a clause of surrender, and at last prevailed to have it done after twenty-one years, because it was a madness to pay eleven pounds a year, for a thousand years, for a house that could not last twenty. But Solomon made an agreement with his land-lady that he

should be at liberty to surrender his lease in seven years; and, if he did not do it at that time should be obliged to keep it for 999 years. In the mean-time, he expends about one hundred pounds on the house and garden-wall; and in less than three years, contracts such a hatred to the house, that he lets it run to ruin: So that when the seven years are expired, he must either take it for the remainder of the 999 years, or be sued for waste, and lose all the money he laid out: And now he pays twelve pounds a year for a place he never sees.

Solomon has an estate of about thirty-five pounds *per annum*, in the county of Cavan; upon which instead of ever receiving one penny rent, he hath expended above thirty pound *per annum*, in buildings and plantations, which are all gone to ruin.

Solomon is under-tenant to a Bishop's lease: he is bound by articles to his Lordship to renew and pay a fine, whenever the Bishop renews with his landlord, and to raise his rent as the landlord shall rise it to the Bishop. Seven years expire: Solomon's landlord demands a fine which he readily pays; then asks for a lease: The landlord says, he may have it at any time: He never gets it. Another seven years elapse: Solomon's landlord demands another fine, and an additional rent: Solomon pays both; asks to have his lease renewed: The steward answers, he will speak to his master. Seventeen years are elapsed: The landlord sends Solomon word that his lease is forfeited, because he hath not renewed and paid his fines according to articles: and now they are at law upon this admirable case.

It is Solomon's great happiness, that, when he acts in the common concerns of life against common sense and reason, he values himself thereupon as if it were the mark of a great genius; above little regards or arts, and that his thoughts are too exalted to descend into the knowledge of vulgar managment; and you cannot make him a greater compliment than by telling instances to the company, before his face, how careless he was in any affair that related to his interest and fortune.

He is extremely proud and captious, apt to resent as an affront an indignity, what was never intended for either.

He

He is allured as easily by every new acquaintance, especially among women, as a child is by a new play-thing, and is led at will by them to suspect and quarrel with his best friends, of whom he hath lost the greatest part, for want of that indulgency which they ought to allow for his failings. He is a generous, honest, good-natured man; but his perpetual want of judgment and discretion, makes him act as if he were neither generous, honest, nor good-natured.

The person above-mentioned, whom he lampooned, and to whom he owes his preferment, being in the country and out of order; Solomon had appointed to come for him with a chaise, and bring him to town. Solomon sent him word that he was to set out on Monday, and did accordingly, but to another part of the kingdom, thirty miles wide of the place appointed, in compliment to a lady who was going that way; there staid, with her and her family, a month, then sent the chaise, in the midst of winter, to bring the said person, where Solomon would meet him, declaring he could not venture himself for fear of the frost: And upon the said person's refusing to go in the chaise alone, or to trust to Solomon's appointment, and being in ill health; Solomon fell into a formal quarrel with that person, and foully misrepresented the whole affair to justify himself.

Solomon had published a humorous ballad, called *Balyspellin**, whither he had gone to drink the waters, with a new favourite lady. The ballad was in the manner of Mr. Gay's on *Molly Mogg*, pretending to contain all the rhymes of *Balyspellin*. His friend, the person so often mentioned, being at a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood, and merry over Solomon's ballad, they agreed to make another, in dispraise of *Balyspellin*-wells, which Solomon had celebrated, and with all new rhymes not made use of in Solomon's †. The thing was done, and all in a mere jest and innocent merriment. Yet Solomon was prevailed upon, by the Lady he went with, to resent this as an affront.

* See Vol. VII. Part II, p. 129.

† Ibid. p. 132.

on her and himself; which he did accordingly, against all the rules of reason, taste, good-nature, judgement, gratitude, or common manners.

He will invite six or more people of condition to dine with him on a certain day, some of them living five or six miles from town. On the day appointed he will be absent, and know nothing of the matter, and they all go back disappointed: When he is told of this, he is pleased, because it shews him to be a genius and a man of learning.

Having lain many years under the obloquy of a high Tory and Jacobite, upon the present Queen's birth-day he writ a song, to be performed before the government and those who attended them, in praise of the Queen and the King, on the common topics of her beauty, wit, family, love of England, and all other virtues, wherein the King and the Royal Children were sharers. It was very hard to avoid the common topics, which were mentioned in abundance. A young collegian, who had done the same job the year before, got some reputation on the account of his wit: Solomon would needs vie with him, by which he lost all the esteem of his old friends the Tories, and got not the least interest with the Whigs; for they are now too strong to want advocates of that kind: And therefore one of the Lords Justices, reading the verses in some company, said, "Ah, Doctor, this shall not do." His name was at length in the title-page; and he did this without the knowledge or advice of one living soul, as he himself confesseth.

His full conviction of having acted wrong, in a hundred instances, leaves him as positive in the next instance as if he had never been mistaken in his life: And if you go to him the next day, and find him convinced in the last, he hath another instance ready, wherein he is as positive as he was the day before.

ON THE DEATH OF MRS. JOHNSON, [STELLA.]

THIS day, being Sunday January 28th, 1727-8, about eight o'clock at night a servant brought me a note, with an account of the death of the truest, most virtuous, and valuable friend, that I or perhaps any other person ever was blessed with. She expired about six in the evening of this day; and, as soon as I am left alone, which is about eleven at night, I resolve, for my own satisfaction, to say something of her life and character.

She was born at Richmond in Surrey on the thirteenth day of March, in the year 1681. Her father was a younger brother of a good family in Nottinghamshire, her mother of a lower degree; and indeed she had little to boast of her birth. I knew her from six years old, and had some share in her education, by directing what books she should read, and perpetually instructing her in the principles of honour and virtue; from which she never swerved in any one action or moment of her life. She was sickly from her childhood until about the age of fifteen: But then grew into perfect health, and was looked upon as one of the most beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in London, only a little too fat. Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection. She lived generally in the country, with a family, where she contracted an intimate friendship with another lady of more advanced years. I was then (to my mortification) settled in Ireland; and, about a year after, going to visit my friends in England, I found she was a little uneasy upon the death of a person on whom she had some dependance.

Her

Her fortune, at that time, was in all not above fifteen hundred pounds, the interest of which was but a scanty maintenance, in so dear a country, for one of her spirit. Upon this consideration, and indeed very much for my own satisfaction, who had few friends or acquaintance in Ireland, I prevailed with her and her dear friend and companion, the other lady*, to draw what money they had into Ireland, a great part of their fortune being in annuities upon funds. Money was then at ten *per cent.* in Ireland besides the advantage of turning it, and all necessities of life at half the price. They complied with my advice, and soon after came over; but, I happening to continue some time longer in England, they were much discouraged to live in Dublin, where they were wholly strangers. She was at that time about nineteen years old, and her person was soon distinguished. But the adventure looked so like a frolic, the censure held, for some time as if there were a secret history in such a removal; which, however, soon blew off by her excellent conduct. She came over with her friend on the 9th in the year 170—; and they both lived together until this day, when death removed her from us. For some years past, she had been visited with continual ill-health: and several times, within these two years her life was despaired of. But, for this twelve-month past, she never had a day's health; and properly speaking, she hath been dying six months, but kept alive, almost against nature, by the generous kindness of two physicians, and the care of her friends. Thus far I writ the same night between eleven and twelve.

Never was any of her sex born with better gifts of the mind, or more improved them by reading and conversation. Yet her memory was not of the best, and was impaired in the latter years of her life. But I cannot call to mind that I ever once heard her make a wrong judgment of persons, books, or affairs. Her advice was always the best, and with the greatest freedom, mixed with the greatest decency. She had a gracefulness some-

* Mrs. Dingley.

what more than human in every motion, word, and action. Never was so happy a conjunction of civility, freedom, easiness and sincerity. There seemed to be a combination among all that knew her, to treat her with a dignity much beyond her rank: Yet people of all sorts were never more easy than in her company. Mr. Addison, when he was in Ireland, being introduced to her, immediately found her out; and if he had not soon after left the kingdom, assured me he would have used all endeavours to cultivate her friendship. A rude or conceited coxcomb passed his time very ill, upon the least breach of respect; for in such a case she had no mercy, but was sure to expose him to the contempt of the standers by; yet in such a manner as he was ashamed to complain, and durst not resent. All of us, who had the happiness of her friendship, agreed unanimously, that, in an afternoon or evening's conversation, she never failed before we parted of delivering the best thing that was said in the company. Some, of us have written down several of her sayings, or what the French call *Bon Mots*, wherein she excelled almost beyond belief*. She never mistook the understanding of others; nor ever said a severe word, but where a much severer was deserved.

Her servants loved and almost adored her at the same time. She would, upon occasions, treat them with freedom, yet her demeanour was so awful, that they durst not fail in the least point of respect. She chid them seldom, but it was with severity, which had an effect upon them for a long time after.

January 29th, My head aches, and I can write no more.

January 30th, Tuesday.

This is the night of the funeral, which my sickness will not suffer me to attend. It is now nine at night, and I am removed into another apartment, that I may not see the light in the church, which is just over against the window of my bed-chamber.

With all the softness of temper that became a lady, she had the personal courage of a hero. She and her friend having

* See Vol. VI. Part II. p. 185.

removed their lodgings to a new house, which stood solitary, a parcel of rogues, armed, attempted the house, where there was only one boy: She was then about four and twenty: And, having been warned to apprehend some such attempt, she learned the management of a pistol; and the other women and servants being half-dead with fear, she stole softly to her dining-room window, put on a black hood, to prevent being seen, primed the pistol fresh, gently lifted up the sash; and, taking her aim with the utmost presence of mind, discharged the pistol laden with the bullets, into the body of one villain, who stood the fairest mark. The fellow, mortally wounded, was carried off by the rest, and died the next morning, but his companions could not be found. The Duke of Ormond hath often drank her health to me upon that account, and had always an high esteem of her. She was indeed under some apprehensions of going in a boat, after some danger she had narrowly escaped by water, but she was reasoned thoroughly out of it. She was never known to cry out, or discover any fear, in a coach or on horseback, or any uneasiness by those sudden accidents with which most of her sex, either by weakness or affectation, appear so much disordered.

She never had the least absence of mind in conversation, nor given to interruption, or appeared eager to put in her word by waiting impatiently until another had done. She spoke in a most agreeable voice, in the plainest words, never hesitating, except out of modesty before new faces, where she was somewhat reserved; nor, among her nearest friends, ever spoke much at a time. She was but little versed in the common topics of female chat; scandal, censure, and detraction, never came out of her mouth: Yet, among a few friends, in private conversation, she made little ceremony in discovering her contempt of a coxcomb, and describing all his follies to the life; but the follies of her own sex she was rather inclined to extenuate or to pity.

When she was once convinced by open facts of any breach of truth or honour, in a person of high station, especially in

the church, she could not conceal her indignation, nor hear them named without shewing her displeasure in her countenance; particularly one or two of the latter sort, whom she had known and esteemed, but detested above all mankind, when it was manifest that they had sacrificed those two precious virtues to their ambition, and would much sooner have forgiven them the common immoralities of the laity.

Her frequent fits of sickness, in most parts of her life, had prevented her from making that progress in reading which she would otherwise have done. She was well versed in the Greek and Roman story, and was not unskilled in that of France and England. She spoke French perfectly, but forgot much of it by neglect and sickness. She had read carefully all the best books of travels, which serve to open and enlarge the mind. She understood the Platonic and Epicurean philosophy, and judged very well of the defects of the latter. She made very judicious abstracts of the best books she had read. She understood the nature of government, and could point out all the errors of Hobbes, both in that and religion. She had a good insight into physic, and knew somewhat of anatomy; in both which she was instructed in her younger days by an eminent physician, who had her long under his care, and bore the highest esteem for her person and understanding. She had a true taste of wit and good sense, both in poetry and prose, and was a perfect good critic of style: Neither was it easy to find a more proper or impartial judge, whose advice an author might better rely on, if he intended to send a thing into the world, provided it was on a subject that came within the compass of her knowledge. Yet, perhaps, she was sometimes too severe, which is a safe and pardonable error. She preserved her wit, judgment, and vivacity to the last, but often used to complain of her memory.

Her fortune, with some accession, could not, as I have heard say, amount to much more than two thousand pounds, whereof a great part fell with her life, having been placed upon annuities in England, and one in Ireland. In a person so extraordinary, perhaps it may be pardonable to mention some

particulars, although of little moment, further than to set forth her character. Some presents of goldpieces being often made to her while she was a girl, by her mother and other friends, on promise to keep them, she grew into such a spirit of thrift, that, in about three years, they amounted to above two hundred pounds. She used to shew them with boasting; but her mother, apprehending she would be cheated of them, prevailed, in some months, and with great importunities, to have them put out to interest: When the girl lost the pleasure of seeing and counting her gold, which she never failed of doing many times in a day, and despaired of heaping up such another treasure, her humour took the quite contrary turn: She grew careless and squandering of every new acquisition, and so continued till about two and twenty; when, by advice of some friends, and the fright of paying large bills of tradesmen, who enticed her into their debt, she began to reflect upon her own folly, and was never at rest until she had discharged all her shop-bills, and refunded herself a considerable sum she had run out. After which, by the addition of a few years and a superior understanding, she became, and continued all her life a most prudent oeconomist; yet still with a strong bent to the liberal side, wherein she gratified herself by avoiding all expence in cloaths, (which she ever despised) beyond what was merely decent. And, although her frequent returns of sickness were very chargeable, except fees to physicians, of which she met with several so generous that she could force nothing on them, (and indeed she must otherwise have been undone;) yet she never was without a considerable sum of ready money. Inasmuch that, upon her death, when her nearest friends thought her very bare, her executors found in her strong box about a hundred and fifty pounds in gold. She lamented the narrowness of her fortune in nothing so much, as that it did not enable her to entertain her friends so often, and in so hospitable a manner as she desired. Yet they were always welcome; and, while she was in health to direct, were treated with neatness and elegance: So that the revenues of her and her companion, passed for much

much more considerable than they really were. They lived always in lodgings, their domesticks consisting of two maids and one man. She kept an account of all the family-expences, from her arrival in Ireland to some months before her death; and she would often repine, when looking back upon the annals of her household bills, that every thing necessary for life was double the price, while interest of money was sunk almost to one half; so that the addition made to her fortune was indeed grown absolutely necessary.

[I since writ as I found time.]

But her charity to the poor was a duty not to be diminished, and therefore became a tax upon those tradesmen who furnish the fopperies of other ladies. She bought cloaths as seldom as possible, and those as plain and cheap as consisted with the situation she was in; and wore no lace for many years. Either her judgment or fortune was extraordinary, in the choice of those on whom she bestowed her charity; for it went further in doing good than double the sum from any other hand. And I have heard her say, she always met with gratitude from the poor: Which must be owing to her skill in distinguishing proper objects, as well as her gracious manner in relieving them.

But she had another quality that much delighted her, although it may be thought a kind of check upon her bounty; however it was a pleasure she could not resist: I mean that of making agreeable presents, wherein I never knew her equal, although it be an affair of as delicate a nature as most in the course of life. She used to define a present, That it was a gift to a friend of something he wanted or was fond of, and which could not be easily gotten for money. I am confident, during my acquaintance with her, she hath, in these and some other kinds of liberality, disposed of to the value of several hundred pounds. As to presents made to herself, she received them with great unwillingness, but especially from those to whom she had ever given any; being on all occasions the most disinterested mortal I ever knew or heard of.

From

From her own disposition, at least as much as from the frequent want of health, she seldom made any visits; but her own lodgings, from before twenty years old, were frequented by many persons of the graver sort, who all respected her highly, upon her good sense, good manners, and conversation. Among these were the late Primate Lindsay, Bishop Loyd, Bishop Ashe, Bishop Brown, Bishop Stearn, Bishop Pulleyn, with some others of later date; and indeed the greatest number of her acquaintance was among the clergy. Honour, truth, liberality, good nature, and modesty, were the virtues she chiefly possessed, and most valued in her acquaintance; and where she found them, would be ready to allow for some defects, nor valued them less, although they did not shine in learning or in wit; but would never give the least allowance for any failures in the former, even to those who made the greatest figure in either of the two latter. She had no use of any person's liberality, yet her detestation of covetous people made her uneasy if such a one was in her company; upon which occasion she would say many things very entertaining and humorous.

She never interrupted any person who spoke; she laughed at no mistakes they made, but helped them out with modesty; and if a good thing were spoken, but neglected, she would not let it fall, but set it in the best light to those who were present. She listened to all that was said, and had never the least distraction, or absence of thought.

It was not safe nor prudent, in her presence, to offend in the least word against modesty; for she then gave full employment to her wit, her contempt, and resentment, under which even stupidity and brutality were forced to sink into confusion; and the guilty person, by her future avoiding him like a bear or a satyr, was never in a way to transgress a second time.

It happened one single coxcomb, of the pert kind, was in her company, among several other ladies; and, in his flippant way, began to deliver some double meanings: The rest flapt their fans, and used the other common expedients practised in such cases, of appearing not to mind or comprehend what

was

was said. Her behaviour was very different, and perhaps may be censured. She said thus to the man: "Sir, all these ladies
" and I understand your meaning very well, having, in spite
" of our care, too often met with those of your sex who wanted
" manners and good sense. But, believe me, neither virtuous
" nor even vicious women love such kind of conversation.
" However, I will leave you, and report your behaviour: And,
" whatever visit I make, I shall first enquire at the door whether
" you are in the house, that I may be sure to avoid you."
I know not whether a majority of ladies would approve of such a proceeding; but I believe the practice of it would soon put an end to that corrupt conversation, the worst effect of dulness, ignorance, impudence, and vulgarity, and the highest affront to the modesty and understanding of the female sex.

By returning very few visits, she had not much company of her own sex, except those whom she most loved for their easiness, or esteemed for their good sense; and those, not insisting on ceremony, came often to her. But she rather chose men for her companions, the usual topics of ladies discourse being such as she had little knowledge of, and less relish. Yet no man was upon the rack to entertain her, for she easily descended to any thing that was innocent and diverting. News, politics, censure, family-management, or town-talk, she always diverted to something else; but these indeed seldom happened, for she chose her company better: And therefore many, who mistook her and themselves, having solicited her acquaintance, and finding themselves disappointed after a few visits, dropt off; and she was never known to enquire into the reason, or ask what was become of them.

She was never positive in arguing, and she usually treated those who were so, in a manner which well enough gratified that unhappy disposition; yet in such a sort as made it very contemptible, and at the same time did some hurt to the owners. Whether this proceeded from her easiness in general, or from her indifference to certain persons, or from her despair of mending them, or from the same practice which she much liked in Mr.

Addison,

Addison, I cannot determine; but when she saw any of the company very warm in a wrong opinion, she was more inclined to confirm them in it than oppose them. The excuse she commonly gave when her friends asked the reason, was, That it prevented noise, and saved time. Yet I have known her very angry with some whom she much esteemed for sometimes falling into that infirmity.

She loved Ireland much better than the generality of those who owe both their birth and riches to it; and, having brought over all the fortune she had in money, left the reversion of the best part of it, one thousand pounds, to Dr. Stephens's Hospital. She detested the tyranny and injustice of England, in their treatment of this kingdom. She had indeed reason to love a country, where she had the esteem and friendship of all who knew her, and the universal good-report of all who ever heard of her, without one exception, if I am told the truth by those who keep general conversation. Which character is the more extraordinary, in falling to a person of so much knowledge, wit, and vivacity, qualities that are used to create envy, and consequently censure; and must be rather imputed to her great modesty, gentle behaviour, and inoffensiveness, than to her superior virtues.

Although her knowledge, from books and company, was much more extensive than usually falls to the share of her sex; yet she was so far from making a parade of it, that her female visitants, on their first acquaintance, who expected to discover it, by what they call hard words and deep discourse, would be sometimes disappointed, and say, they found she was like other women. But wise men, through all her modesty, whatever they discoursed on, could easily observe that she understood them very well, by the judgment shewn in her observations as well as in her questions.

OF THE
EDUCATION OF LADIES.

THERE is a subject of controversy which I have frequently met with, in mixt and select companies of both sexes, and sometimes only of men; whether it be prudent to chuse a wife, who hath good natural sense, some taste of wit and humour, sufficiently versed in her own natural language, able to read and to relish history, books of travels, moral or entertaining discourses, and be a tolerable judge of the beauties in poetry.

This question is generally determined in the negative by the women themselves, but almost universally by the men.

We must observe, that, in this debate, those whom we call men and women of fashion are only to be understood, not merchants, tradesmen, or others of such occupations, who are not supposed to have shared in a liberal education. I except likewise all ministers of state, during their power, lawyers and physicians in great practice, persons in such employments as take up the greater part of the day, and perhaps some other conditions of life which I cannot call to mind. Neither must I forget to except all gentlemen of the army, from the general to the ensign; because those qualifications above-mentioned, in a wife, are wholly out of their element and comprehension; together with all mathematicians, and gentlemen lovers of music, metaphysicians, virtuosi, and great talkers, who have all amusements enough of their own. All these put together will amount to a great number of adversaries, whom I shall have no occasion to encounter, because I am already of their sentiments. Those persons, whom I mean to include, are the bulk of lords, knights, and squires throughout England, whether they reside between the town and country, or generally in

either. I do also include those of the clergy, who have tolerably good preferments in London or any other parts of the kingdom.

The most material arguments that I have met with, on the negative side of this great question, are what I shall now impartially report, in as strong a light as I think they can bear.

It is argued, That the great end of marriage is propagation: That, consequently, the principal business of a wife is to breed children, and to take care of them in their infancy: That the wife is to look to her family, watch over the servants, see that they do their work: That she be absent from her house as little as possible: That she is answerable for every thing amiss in the family: That she is to obey all the lawful commands of her husband; and visit, or be visited, by no persons whom he disapproves. That her whole business, if well performed, will take up most hours of the day: That the greater she is, and the more servants she keeps, her inspection must encrease accordingly. For, as a family represents a kingdom, so the wife, who is her husband's first minister, must, under him, direct all the officers of state, even to the lowest; and report their behaviour to her husband, as the first minister does to his prince. That such a station requires much time, and thought, and order; and, if well executed, leaves but little time for visits or diversions.

That a humour of reading books, excepting those of devotion or housewifery, is apt to turn a woman's brain. That plays, romances, novels, and love-poems, are only proper to instruct them how to carry on an intrigue. That all affectation of knowledge, beyond what is merely domestic, renders them vain, conceited, and pretending. That the natural levity of women wants ballast; and, when she once begins to think, she knows more than others of her sex, she will begin to despise her husband, and grow fond of every coxcomb who pretends to any knowledge in books. That she will learn scholastic words; make herself ridiculous by pronouncing them wrong, and applying them absurdly in all companies. That, in the meantime, her household affairs, and the care of her children, will be wholly laid

laid aside; her toilet will be crowded with all the under-wits, where the conversation will pass in criticising on the last play or poem that comes out, and she will be careful to remember all the remarks that were made, in order to retail them in the next visit, especially in company who know nothing of the matter. That she will have all the impertinence of a pedant, without the knowledge; and, for every new acquirement, will become so much the worse.

To say the truth, that shameful and almost universal neglect of good education among our nobility, gentry, and indeed among all others who are born to good estates, will make this essay of little use to the present age: For, considering the modern way of training up both sexes in ignorance, idleness, and vice, it is of little consequence how they are coupled together. And therefore my speculations on this subject can be only of use to a small number: For, in the present situation of the world, none but wise and good men can fail of missing their match, whenever they are disposed to marry; and consequently there is no reason for complaint on either side. The forms by which a husband and wife are to live, with regard to each other and to the world, are sufficiently known and fixed, in direct contradiction to every precept of morality, religion, or civil institution: It would be therefore an idle attempt to aim at breaking so firm an establishment.

But as it sometimes happens, that an elder brother dies late enough to leave the younger at the university, after he hath made some progress in learning; if we suppose him to have a tolerable genius, and a desire to improve it, he may consequently learn to value and esteem wisdom and knowledge wherever he finds them, even after his father's death, when his title and estate come into his own possession. Of this kind, I reckon, by a favourable computation, there may possibly be found, by a strict search among the nobility and gentry throughout England, about five hundred. Among those of all other callings or trades, who are able to maintain a son at the university, about treble that number. The sons of clergymen bred

to learning with any success, must, by reason of their parents' poverty, be very inconsiderable, many of them being only admitted servitors in colleges, (and consequently proving good for nothing:) I shall therefore count them to be not above fourscore. But, to avoid fractions, I shall suppose there may possibly be a round number of two thousand male human creatures in England (including Wales), who have a tolerable share of reading and good sense. I include in this list all persons of superior abilities, or great genius, or true judgment and taste, or of profound literature, who, I am confident, we may reckon to be at least five and twenty.

I am very glad to have this opportunity of doing an honour to my country, by a computation which I am afraid foreigners may conceive to be partial; when, out of only fifteen thousand families of lords and estates gentlemen, which may probably be their number, I suppose one in thirty to be tolerably educated, with a sufficient share of good sense. Perhaps the censure may be just. And therefore, upon cooler thoughts, to avoid all cavils, I shall reduce them to one thousand, which, at least, will be a number sufficient to fill both Houses of Parliament.

The daughters of great and rich families, computed after the same manner, will hardly amount to above half the number of the male: Because the care of their education is either left entirely to their mothers, or they are sent to boarding-schools, or put into the hands of English or French governesses, and generally the worst that can be gotten for money. So that, after the reduction I was compelled to, from two thousand to one, half the number of well-educated nobility and gentry must either continue in a single life, or be forced to couple themselves with women for whom they can possibly have no esteem; I mean fools, prudes, coquettes, gamesters, faunterers, endless talkers of nonsense, splenetic idlers, intriguers, given to scandal and censure, * * * * *

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A
D I S C O U R S E

To prove the ANTIQUITY of the
E N G L I S H T O N G U E.

*Shewing, from various Instances, that HEBREW, GREEK, and LATIN,
were derived from the ENGLISH.*

DURING the reign of parties, for about forty years past, it is a melancholy consideration to observe how *Philology* hath been neglected, which was before the darling employment of the greatest authors, from the restoration of learning in Europe. Neither do I remember it to have been cultivated, since the Revolution, by any one person with great success, except our illustrious modern star, Doctor Richard Bentley, with whom the republic of learning must expire; as mathematics did with Sir Isaac Newton. My ambition hath been gradually attempting, from my early youth, to be the holder of a rush-light before that great luminary; which, at least, might be of some little use during those short intervals, while he was snuffing his candle, or peeping with it under a bushel.

My present attempt is to assert the antiquity of our English Tongue; which, as I shall undertake to prove by invincible arguments, hath varied very little for these two thousand six hundred and thirty-four years past. And my proofs will be drawn from etymology; wherein I shall use my readers much fairer than Pezron, Skinner, Vorstigan, Camden, and many other superficial pretenders have done. For I will put no force upon the words, nor desire any more favour than to allow for the usual accidents of corruption, or the avoiding a cacophonia.

I think I can make it manifest to all impartial readers, that our language, as we now speak it, was originally the same with those of the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans, however corrupted in succeeding times by a mixture of barbarisms. I shall only produce, at present, two instances among a thousand from the Latin tongue. *Cloaca*, which they interpret a *necessary-house*, is altogether an English word, the last letter *a* being, by the mistake of some scribe, transferred from the beginning to the end of the word. In the primitive orthography it is called a *cloac*, which had the same signification; and still continues so at Edinburgh in Scotland: Where a man in a *cloac*, or cloak, of large circumference and length, carrying a convenient vessel under it, calls out, as he goes through the streets, *Wha has need of me?* Whatever customer calls, the vessel is placed in the corner of the street, the *cloac*, or a cloak, surrounds and covers him, and thus he is eased with decency and secrecy.

The second instance is yet more remarkable. The Latin word *Turpis* signifieth *naſty*, or *filthy*. Now this word *Turpis* is a plain composition of two English words; only, by a syncope, the last letter of the first syllable, which is *d*, is taken out of the middle, to prevent the jarring of three consonants together: And these two English words express the two most unseemly excrements that belong to man.

But although I could produce many other examples, equally convincing, that the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans originally spoke the same language which we do at present; yet I have chosen to confine myself chiefly to the proper names of persons, because I conceive they will be of greater weight to confirm what I advance; the ground and reason of those names being certainly owing to the nature, or some distinguishing action or quality in those persons, and consequently expressed in the true antient language of the several people.

I will begin with the Grecians, among whom the most antient are the great leaders on both sides in the siege of Troy. For it is plain, from Homer, that the Trojans spoke Greek as well
as

as the Grecians. Of these latter, *Achilles* was the most valiant. This Hero was of a restless unquiet nature, never giving himself any repose either in peace or war; and therefore, as Guy of Warwick was called a Kill-cow, and another terrible man a Kill-devil, so this General was called *A Kill-ease*, or destroyer of ease; and at length, by corruption, *Achilles*.

Hector, on the other side, was the bravest among the Trojans. He had destroyed so many of the Greeks, by *hacking* and *tearing* them, that his soldiers, when they saw him fighting, would cry out, "Now the enemy will be *hackt*, now he will be *tore*." At last, by putting both words together, this appellation was given to their leader, under the name of *Hack-tore*; and, for the more commodious sounding, *Hector*.

Diomedes, another Grecian captain, had the boldness to fight with Venus, and wound her; whereupon the Goddess, in a rage, ordered her son Cupid to make this Hero be hated by all women, repeating it often that he should *die a maid*; from whence, by a small change in orthography, he was called *Diomedes*. And it is to be observed, that the term *Maiden-head* is frequently, at this very day, applied to persons of either sex.

Ajax was, in fame, the next Grecian general to Achilles. The derivation of his name from *A Jakes*, however asserted by great authors, is, in my opinion, very unworthy both of them and of the Hero himself. I have often wondered to see such learned men mistake in so clear a point. This Hero is known to have been a most intemperate liver, as it is usual with soldiers; and, although he were not old, yet, by conversing with camp-strollers, he had got pains in his bones, which he pretended to his friends were only *Age-aches*; but they telling the story about the army, as the vulgar always confound right pronunciation, he was afterwards known by no other name than *Ajax*.

The next I shall mention is *Andromache*, the famous wife of Hector. Her father was a Scotch gentleman, of a noble family still subsisting in that antient kingdom. But, being a foreigner in Troy, to which city he led some of his countrymen

in the defence of Priam, as *Dictys Cretensis* learnedly observes; Hector fell in love with his daughter, and the father's name was *Andrew Mackay*. The young Lady was called by the same name, only a little softened to the Grecian accent.

Astyanax was the son of Hector and Andromache. When Troy was taken, this young Prince had his head cut off, and his body thrown to swine. From this fatal accident he had his name; which hath, by a peculiar good fortune, been preserved entire, *A sty, an ax*.

Mars may be mentioned among these, because he fought against the Greeks. He was called the God of War; and is described as a swearing, swaggering companion, and a great giver of rude language. For, when he was angry, he would cry, "Kiss my *a-se*, My *a-se* in a band-box, My *a-se* all over:" Which he repeated so commonly, that he got the appellation of *My-a-se*; and, by a common abbreviation, *Mars*; from whence, by leaving out the mark of elision, *Mars*. And this is a common practice among us at present; as in the words *D'anvers*, *D'avenport*, *D'anby*, which are now written *Danvers*, *Davenport*, *Danby*, and many others.

The next is *Hercules*, otherwise called *Alcides*. Both these names are English, with little alteration; and describe the principal qualities of that Hero, who was distinguished for being a slave to his mistresses, and at the same time for his great strength and courage. *Omphale*, his chief mistress, used to call her lovers *Her cullies*; and, because this Hero was more and longer subject to her than any other, he was in a particular manner called the chief of *her cullies*; which, by an easy change, made the word *Hercules*. His other name *Alcides* was given him on account of his prowess: For, in fight, he used to strike on *all sides*, and was allowed on *all sides* to be the chief hero of his age. For one of which reasons, he was called *All sides*, or *Alcides*; but I am inclined to favour the former opinion.

A certain Grecian youth was a great imitator of Socrates; which that philosopher observing, with much pleasure, said to his friends, "There is an *Ape o' mine own days*." After which the young

young man was called *Epaminondes*, and proved to be the most virtuous person, as well as the greatest general of his age.

Ucalegon was a very obliging inn-keeper of Troy. When a guest was going to take horse, the landlord took leave of him with this compliment, "Sir, I shall be glad to see *you call again*." Strangers, who knew not his right name, caught his last words; and thus, by degrees, that appellation prevailed, and he was known by no other name even among his neighbours.

Hydra was a great serpent which Hercules slew. His usual outward garment was the *raw hyde* of a lion, and this he had on when he attacked the serpent; which, therefore, took its name from the skin: The modesty of that Hero devolving the honour of his victory upon the lion's skin, calling that enormous snake the *Hyde-raw* serpent.

Leda was the mother of Castor and Pollux; whom Jupiter embracing in the shape of a swan, she *laid a couple* of eggs; and was therefore called *Laid a*, or *Leda*.

As to Jupiter himself: It is well known that the statues and pictures of this Heathen God, in the Roman-catholic countries, resemble those of St. Peter, and are often taken the one for the other. The reason is manifest: For, when the emperors had established Christianity, the Heathens were afraid of acknowledging their heathen idols of the chief God, and pretended it was only a statue of the *Jew Peter*. And thus the principal Heathen God came to be called by the antient Romans, with very little alteration, *Jupiter*.

The *Hamadryades* are represented by mistaken antiquity as Nymphs of the Groves. But the true account is this: They were women of Calabria, who dealt in bacon; and, living near the sea-side, used to pickle their bacon in salt-water, and then set it up to dry in the sun. From whence they were properly called *Ham-adry-a-days*, and, in process of time, misspelt *Hamadryades*.

Neptune, the God of the sea, had his name from the *Tunes* sung to him by tritons, upon their shells every *neap* or *nep* tide. The word is come down to us almost uncorrupted, as well

as that of the *Tritons*, his servants; who, in order to please their master, used to try all tones, till they could hit upon that he liked.

Aristotle was a Peripatetic philosopher, who used to instruct his scholars while he was walking. When the lads were come, he would arise to tell them what he thought proper; and was therefore called *Arise to tell*. But succeeding ages, who understood not this etymology, have, by an absurd change, made it *Aristotle*.

Aristophanes was a Greek comedian, full of levity, and gave himself too much freedom; which made a graver people not scruple to say, that he had a great deal of airy stuff in his writings: And these words, often repeated, made succeeding ages denominate him *Aristophanes*. Vide *Rosin. Antiq.* l. iv.

Alexander the Great was very fond of eggs roasted in hot ashes. As soon as his cooks heard he was come home to dinner or supper, they called aloud to their underofficers, *All eggs under the Grate*: Which, repeated every day at noon and evening, made strangers think it was that Prince's real name, and therefore gave him no other; and posterity hath been ever since under the same delusion.

Pygmalion was a person of very low stature, but great valour; which made his townsmen call him *Pygmy lion*: And so it should be spelt; although the word hath suffered less by transcribers than many others.

Archimedes was a most famous mathematician. His studies required much silence and quiet: But his wife having several maids, they were always disturbing him with their tattle or their business; which forced him to come out every now and then to the stair-head, and cry, "*Hark ye maids, if you will not be quiet, I shall turn you out of doors.*" He repeated these words, *Hark ye maids*, so often, that the unlucky jades, when they found he was at his study would say, There is *Hark ye maids*, let us speak softly. Thus the name went through the neighbourhood; and, at last, grew so general, that we are ignorant of that great man's true name to this day.

Strabo was a famous geographer; and, to improve his knowledge, travelled over several countries, as the writers of his life inform us; who likewise add, that he affected great niceness and finery in his cloaths: From whence people took occasion to call him the *Stray bean*; which future ages have pinned down upon him, very much to his dishonour.

Peloponnesus, that famous Grecian peninsula, got its name from a Greek colony in Asia the Less; many of whom going for traffic thither, and finding that the inhabitants had but one well in the town of * * * *, from whence certain porters used to carry the water through the city in great pails, so heavy that they were often forced to set them down for ease; the tired porters, after they had set down the pails, and wanted to take them up again, would call for assistance to those who were nearest, in these words, *Pail up, and ease us*. The stranger Greeks, hearing these words repeated a thousand times as they passed the street, thought the inhabitants were pronouncing the name of their country, which made the foreign Greeks call it *Peloponnesus*, a manifest corruption of *Pail up and ease us*.

Having mentioned so many Grecians to prove my hypothesis, I shall not tire the reader with producing an equal number of Romans, as I might easily do. Some few will be sufficient.

Cæsar was the greatest captain of that empire: The word ought to be spelt *Seiser*, because he *seised* on not only most of the known world, but even the liberties of his own country: So that a more proper appellation could not have been given him.

Cicero was a poor scholar in the university of Athens, wherewith his enemies in Rome used to reproach him; and, as he passed the streets, would call out, *O Ciser, Ciser o!* A word still used in Cambridge, and answers to a servitor in Oxford.

Anibal was sworn enemy of the Romans, and gained many glorious victories over them. This name appears at first repeating to be a metaphor drawn from tennis, expressing a skilful gamester, who can take *any ball*; and is very justly applied to so renowned a commander. Navigators are led into a strange

mistake upon this article. We have usually in our fleet some large man of war, called the *Anibal* with great propriety, because it is so strong that it may defy any ball from a cannon. And such is the deplorable ignorance of our seamen, that they miscall it the *Honey-ball*. *Cartago* was the most famous trading city in the world; where, in every street, there was many a cart a going, probably laden with merchants goods. Vide *Alexander ab Alexandro*, and *Suidas* upon the word *Cartago*.

The word *Roman* itself is perfectly English, like other words ending in *man* or *men*, as *Hangman*, *Drayman*, *Huntsman*, and several others. It was formerly spelt *Row-man*, which is the same with *Waterman*. And therefore, when we read of *Jesta* (or, as it is corruptly spelt, *Gesta*) *Romanorum*, it is to be understood of the rough manner of *jesting* used by watermen; who, upon the sides of rivers, would *row man or'um*. This I think is clear enough to convince the most incredulous.

Misanthropus was the name of an ill-natured man, which he obtained by a custom of catching a great number of mice, then shutting them up in a room and throwing a cat among them. Upon which his fellow citizens called him *Mice and throw puffs*. The reader observes how much the orthography hath been changed without altering the sound: But such depravations we owe to the injury of time, and gross ignorance of transcribers.

Among the antients, fortune-telling by the stars was a very beggarly trade. The professors lay upon straw, and their cabins were covered with the same materials: Whence every one who followed that mystery was called *A straw lodger*, or a lodger in straw; but, in the new-fangled way of spelling, *Astrologer*.

It is remarkable that the very word *Diphthong* is wholly English. In former times school-boys were chastised with thongs fastened at the head of a stick. It was observed that young lads were much puzzled with spelling, and pronouncing words where two vowels came together, and were often corrected for their mistakes in that point. Upon these occasions the master would *dip* his

though (as we now do rods) in p-*r*, which made that difficult union of vowels to be called *Diphthong*.

Bucephalus, the famous horse of Alexander, was so called because there were many grooms employed about him, which fellows were always busy in their office; and, because the horse had so many busy fellows about him, it was natural for those who went to the stable to say, "Let us go to the busy fellows;" by which they meant to see that Prince's horse. And, in process of time, these words were absurdly applied to the animal itself, which was thenceforth styled *Busy-fellows*, and very improperly *Bucephalus*.

I shall now bring a few proofs of the same kind, to convince my readers that our English language was well known to the Jews.

Moses, the great leader of those people out of Egypt, was in propriety of speech called *Mow seas*, because he mowed the seas down in the middle, to make a path for the Israelites.

Abraham was a person of strong bones and sinews, and a firm walker, which made the people say, He was a man (in the Scotch phrase, which comes nearest to the old Saxon) of a *bra ham*; that is, of a brave strong ham, from whence he acquired his name.

The man whom the Jews called *Balam* was a shepherd; who, by often crying *Ba* to his lambs, was therefore called *Baalamb*, or *Balam*.

Isaac is nothing else but *Eyes ake*; because the Talmudists report that he had a pain in his eyes. Vide *Ben-gorion* and the *Targum on Genesis*.

Thus I have manifestly proved, that the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews, spoke the language we now do in England; which is an honour to our country that I thought proper to set in a true light, and yet hath not been done, as I have heard, by any other writer.

And

And thus I have ventured (perhaps too temerariouſly) to contribute my mite to the learned world; from whoſe candour, if I may hope to receive ſome approbation, it may probably give me encouragement to proceed on ſome other ſpeculations, if poſſible, of greater importance than what I now offer; and which have been the labour of many years, as well as of conſtant watchings, that I might be uſeful to mankind, and particularly to mine own country.

End of VOL. VIII. PART I.

T W E L V E - A R T I C L E S

I.

Lest it may more quarrels breed,
I will never hear you read.

II.

By disputing I will never
To convince you, once endeavour.

III.

When a paradox you stick to,
I will never contradict you.

IV.

When I talk, and you are heedless,
I will shew no anger needles.

V.

When your speeches are absurd,
I will ne'er object a word.

VI.

When you furious argue wrong,
I will grieve, and hold my tongue.

VII.

Not a jest, or hum'rous story,
Will I ever tell before ye:
To be chidden for explaining
When you quite mistake the meaning.

VIII.

Never more will I suppose
You can taste my verse or prose:

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SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

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(C c 2)

IX.

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P O E M S O N

IX.

You no more at me shall fret,
While I teach, and you forget.

X.

You shall never hear me thunder,
When you blunder on, and blunder.

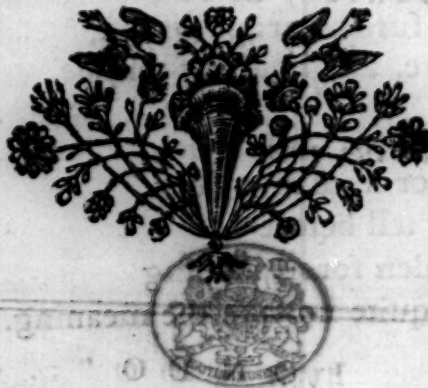
XI.

Shew your poverty of spirit,
And in drefs place all your merit;
Give yourself ten thousand airs,
That with me shall break no squares.

XII.

Never will I give advice
'Till you please to ask me thrice;
Which, if you in scorn reject,
'Twill be just as I expect.

Thus we both shall have our ends,
And continue special friends.



ROBIN

THE
WORKS
OF
Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,
DEAN of ST. PATRICK's, DUBLIN.

VOLUME VIII. PART II.

COLLECTED AND REVISED
By DEANE SWIFT, Esq;
of GOODRICH, in HEREFORDSHIRE.

He tibi erunt artes.

VIRGIL.

LONDON:
Printed for W. JOHNSTON, in Ludgate-Street.
MDCCLXV.



ERRATA.

Page 21, line 9, *for* wrecked *read* wreaked.

30. — 8, become *read* became.

49. — ult. *in opis* *read* *in opis*.

67. — 31, pea-pein *read* poor pain.

73. — 8, countenance *read* countenances.

84. — 18, Dorneville's *read* Domville's

152. — 31, bears *read* hears.

153. — 5, firks *read* ferks.

154. — 22, tell *read* shew.

156. — 21, Hesse *read* Hassie.

171. — 23, the *read* that.

181. — 28, tusk *read* tusks.

201. — Note, Mountcasser *read* Mountcassel.

207. — 22, for getting *read* forgetting.

224. — 2, umbra *read* umbrae.

225. — 6, doting *read* dozing.

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LETTERS

L E T T E R S
TO AND FROM
S E V E R A L P E R S O N S.

L E T T E R I.
To Mr. BENJAMIN TOOKE.

SIR,

Dublin, June 29, 1710.

I WAS in the country when I received your letter with the Apology inclosed in it*; and I had neither health nor humour to finish that business. But the blame rests with you, that if you thought it time, you did not print it when you had it. I have just now your last, with the complete Key. I believe it is so perfect a Grubstreet-piece, it will be forgotten in a week. But it is strange that there can be no satisfaction against a Bookfeller, for publishing names in so bold a manner. I wish some lawyer could advise you how I might have satisfaction: For, at this rate, there is no book, however so vile, which may not be fastened on me. I cannot but think that little Parson-cousin of mine is at the bottom of this; for, having lent him a copy of some part of, &c. and he shewing it, after I was gone for Ireland, and the thing abroad, he affected to talk suspiciously, as if he had some share in it. If he should happen to be in town, and you light on him, I think you ought to tell him gravely, that if he be the author, he should set his name to the &c; and rally him a little upon it: And tell him, if he can explain some things, you will, if he pleases, set his name to the next edition. I should be glad to see how far the foolish impudence of a dunce could

* The *Apology* prefixed to the Tale of a Tub.

go. Well; I will send you the thing, now I am in town, as soon as possible. But, I dare say, you have neither printed the rest, nor finished the cuts, only are glad to lay the fault on me. I shall, at the end, take a little contemptible notice of the thing you sent me; and I dare say it will do you more good than hurt. If you are in such haste, how came you to forget the Miscellanies? I would not have you think of Steele for a publisher; he is too busy. I will, one of these days, send you some hints, which I would have in a preface, and you may get some friend to dress them up. I have thoughts of some other work one of these years; and I hope to see you ere it be long; since it is like to be a new world, and since I have the merit of suffering by not complying with the old. Yours, &c.

L E T T E R II.

Mr. TOOKE to Doctor SWIFT.

S I R,

London, July 10, 1710.

INCLOSED I have sent the Key, and think it would be much more proper to add the notes at the bottom of the respective pages they refer to, than printing them at the end by themselves. As to the Cuts, Sir Andrew Fountaine has had them from the time they were designed, with an intent of altering them. But he is now gone into Norfolk, and will not return till Michaelmas; so that, I think, they must be laid aside: For, unless they are very well done, it is better they were quite let alone. As to the Apology, I was not so careless but that I took a copy of it before I sent it to you, so that I could have printed it easily, but that you sent me word not to go on till you had altered something in it. As to that Cousin of yours, which you speak of, I neither know him, nor ever heard of him till the Key mentioned him. It was very indifferent to me which I proceeded on first, the Tale or the Miscellanies: But, when you

went

went away, you told me there were three or four things should be sent over out of Ireland, which you had not here; which, I think, is a very reasonable excuse for myself in all these affairs. What I beg of you at present is, that you would return the Apology and this Key, with directions as to the placing it: Although I am entirely of opinion to put it at the bottom of each page, yet shall submit. If this be not done soon, I cannot promise but some rascal or other will do it for us both; since you see the liberty that is already taken. I think too much time has already been lost in the Miscellanies; therefore hasten that: And whichever is in the most forwardness, I would begin on first. All here depend on an entire alteration. I am, &c.

L E T T E R III.

To the Earl of PETERBOROW.

MY LORD,

February 1710-11.

I ENVY none of the Queen's subjects so much as those who are abroad; and I desire to know, whether, as great a soul your Lordship has, you did not observe your mind to open and enlarge, after you were some leagues at sea, and had left off breathing party-air. I am apt to think this schism in politics has cloven our understandings, and left us but just half the good sense that blazed in our actions: And we see the effect it has had upon our wit and learning, which are crumbled into pamphlets and penny-papers. The October-club, which was in its rudiments when your Lordship left us, is now growing up to be a party by itself, and begins to rail at the ministry as much as the Whigs do, but from topics directly contrary. I am sometimes talked into frights, and told that all is ruined; but am immediately cured when I see any of the ministry: Not from the satisfaction they give me in any one point, but because I see them so perfectly easy, and believe they could not be so if they had any fear at heart. My comfort is, they are persons of great

abilities, and they are engaged in a good cause. And what is one very good circumstance, as I told three of them the other day, they seem heartily to love one another, in spite of the scandal of inconstancy which court-friendships lie under. And I can affirm to your Lordship, they heartily love you too; which I take to be a great deal more than when they assure you so themselves. For even statesmen will sometimes discover their passions, especially their good ones.

Here is a pamphlet come out, called *A Letter to Jacob Banks*, shewing that the liberty of Sweden was destroyed by the principle of passive obedience. I know not whether his quotation be fair, but the piece is shrewdly written; and, in my opinion, not to be answered, otherwise than by disclaiming that sort of passive obedience which the Tories are charged with. This dispute would soon be ended, if the dunces, who write on each side, would plainly tell us what the object of this passive obedience is in our country. For, I dare swear, nine in ten of the Whigs will allow it to the legislature, and as many of the Tories deny it to the prince alone: And I hardly ever saw a Whig and Tory together, whom I could not immediately reconcile on that article, when I made them explain themselves.

My Lord, the Queen knew what she did, when she sent your Lordship to spur up a dull northern court: Yet, I confess, I had rather have seen that activity of mind and body, employed in conquering another kingdom, or the same over again. I am,

MY LORD, &c.

L E T T E R IV.

To the Earl of PETERBORO.

MY LORD,

May 4, 1711.

I HAVE had the honour of your Lordship's letter; and, by the first lines of it have made a discovery that your Lordship is come into the world about eighteen hundred years too late,
and

and was born about half a dozen degrees too far to the north, to employ that public virtue I always heard you did possess; which is now wholly useless, and which those very few that have it, are forced to lay aside when they would have business succeed.

Is it not some comfort, my Lord, that you meet with the same degeneracy of manners, and the same neglect of the public, among the honest Germans, though, in the philosopher's phrase, differently modified; and I hope, at least, we have one advantage, to be more polite in our corruptions than they.

Our divisions run further than perhaps your Lordship's intelligence hath yet informed you of. That is, a triumvirate of our friends whom I have mentioned to you: I have told them more than once, upon occasion, that all my hope of their success depended on their union; that I saw they loved one another, and hoped they would continue it, to remove that scandal of inconstancy ascribed to court-friendships. I am not now so secure. I care not to say more on such a subject, and even this is *entre nous*. My credit is not of a size to do any service on such an occasion: But, as little as it is, I am so ill a politician, that I will venture the loss of it to prevent this mischief; the consequences of which I am as good a judge of as any minister of state, and perhaps a better because I am not one.

When you writ your letter, you had not heard of Guiscard's attempt on Mr. Harley: Supposing you know all the circumstances, I shall not descant upon it. We believe Mr. Harley will soon be Treasurer, and be of the House of Peers; and then we imagine the Court will begin to deal out employments, for which every October-member is a candidate; and consequently nine in ten must be disappointed: The effect of which we may find in the next session. Mr. Harley was yesterday to open to the House the ways he has thought of, to raise funds for the securing the unprovided debts of the nation, and we are all impatient to know what his proposals are.

As to the imperfect account you say you have received of disagreement among ourselves, your Lordship knows that the names of Whig and Tory have quite altered their meanings. All who
were

were for turning out the late ministry, we now generally call Tories; and, in that sense, I think it plain that there are among the Tories three different interests. One of those, I mean the ministry, who agree with your Lordship and me, in a steady management for pursuing the true interest of the nation; another is that of warmer heads, as the October-club and their adherents without doors; and a third is, I fear, of those who, as your Lordship expresses it, would found a party, and who would make fair weather in case of a change, and some of these last are not inconsiderable.

Nothing can be more obliging than your Lordship's remembering to mention me in your letters to Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, when you are in the midst of such great affairs. I doubt I shall want such an advocate as your Lordship; for, I believe, every man who has modesty or merit, is but an ill one for himself. I desire but the smallest of those titles you give me on the outside of your letter. My ambition is to live in England, and with a competency to support me with honour. The ministry know by this time whether I am worth keeping; and it is easier to provide for ten men in the church than one in a civil employment.

But I renounce England and deanries, without a promise from your Lordship, under your own hand and seal, that I shall have liberty to attend you whenever I please. I foresee we shall have a peace next year, by the same sagacity that I have often foreseen when I was young. I must leave the town in a week, because my money is gone, and I can borrow no more. Peace will bring your Lordship home; and we must have you to adorn your country, when you shall be no longer wanted to defend it. I am,

MY LORD, &c.

L E T-

L E T T E R V.

To Mr. Secretary ST. JOHN*.

SIR,

Chelsea, May 11, 1711.

BEING convinced by certain] ominous prognostics, that my life is too short to permit me the honour of ever dining another Saturday with Sir Simon Harcourt, Knight, or Robert Harley, Esq; I beg I may take the last farewell of those two gentlemen to-morrow. I made this request on Saturday last, unfortunately after you were gone; and they, like great statesmen, pretended they could do nothing in it without your consent; particularly my Lord-Keeper, as a lawyer, raised innumerable difficulties, although I submitted to allow you an hour's whispering before dinner, and an hour after. My Lord Rivers would not offer one word in my behalf, pretending he himself was but a tolerated person. The Keeper alledged you could do nothing but when all three were capitularly met, as if you could never open but like a parish chest, with the three keys together. It grieves me to see the present ministry thus confederated to pull down my great spirit. Pray, Sir, find an expedient. Finding expedients is the business of secretaries of state. I will yield to any reasonable conditions not below my dignity. I will not find fault with the victuals; I will restore the water-glass that I stole, and solicit for my Lord-Keeper's salary. And, Sir, to shew you I am not a person to be safely injured, if you dare refuse me justice in this point, I will appear before you in a pudding-sleeve gown, I will disparage your snuff, write a lampoon upon Nably Car, dine with you upon a foreign post-day; nay, I will read verses in your presence, until you snatch them out of my hands. Therefore pray, Sir, take pity upon me and yourself; and believe me to be, with great respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, and
Most humble servant.

* Afterwards Lord Eolingbroke.

L E T T E R VI.

Mr. SHOWER, to the Lord High-Treasurer OXFORD.

MY LORD,

London, December 20, 1711.

THOUGH there be little reason to expect your Lordship should interpose in favour of the Dissenters, who have been so shamefully abandoned, sold, and sacrificed by their professed friends; the attempt is however so glorious, in all its views, tendencies, and prospects, that, if it be not too late, I would most humbly beg your Lordship not to be immoveable as to that matter. The fatal consequences of that bill cannot be expressed: I dread to think of some of them; and shall as much rejoice with many thousands, if you may be instrumental to prevent it. May Heaven direct you in this, and in all your great affairs for the public good of your country. I am,

My Honoured LORD,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN SHOWER.

L E T T E R VII.

ANSWER to Mr. SHOWER.*

REVEREND SIR,

December 21, 1711.

HAD not a very painful distemper confined me, I had desired the favour of seeing you some time since; and I should have spoken very plainly to you, as I shall whenever I see you. I have long foretold, that the Dissenters must be saved whether

* The Answer was written by Dr. Swift, as appears not only from his hand-writing, but particularly from a correction in the original draught.

they

they will or no : They resist even restraining grace ; and would almost convince me, that the notion of man's being a mechanism is true in every part. To see men moved as puppets, with rage for their interest, with envy acting against their own interest, *having mens persons in admiration* : Not only those of their own body, who certainly are the first who pretended to consummate wisdom and deep policy ; yet have shewn that they knew not the common affairs of this nation, but are *dwellers in thick clay*. They are Epicureans in act, Puritans in profession, politicians in conceit, and a prey and laughing-stock to the Deists and synagogue of the libertines, in whom they have trusted, and to whose infallibility they have sold themselves and their congregations. All they have done, or can do, shall never make me their enemy. I pity poor deluded creatures, that have for seventeen years been acting against all their principles, and the liberty of this nation, without leaving so much salt as to keep the body of them sweet. For, there has not been one good bill during that term of years, which they have not opposed in the House of Commons ; contrary to the practice of those very few Dissenters, which were in the parliament in King Charles the Second's time, who thereby united themselves to the country-gentlemen, the advantage of which they found for many years after. But now they have lifted themselves with those, who had first denied our Saviour, and now have sold them.

I have written this only to shew you, that I am ready to do every thing that is practicable, to save people who are bargained for by their leaders, and given up by their ministers : I say their ministers ; because it is averred and represented, that the Dissenting ministers have been consulted, and are consenting to this bill. By what lies, and arts, they are brought to this, I do not care to mention ; but, as to myself, the engineers of this bill thought they had obtained a great advantage against me : Finding I had stopt it in the House of Commons, they thought to bring me to a fatal dilemma, whether it did or did not pass. This would have no influence with me ; for I will act what I think to be right, let there be the worst enemies in the world of

one side or other. I guess by your letter that you do not know that the bill, yesterday, passed both Houses, the Lords having agreed to the amendments made by the Commons; so that there is no room to do any thing upon that head.

What remains, is to desire, that the Dissenters may seriously think from whence they are fallen, and do their first works, — and recover their reputation of sobriety, integrity, and love of their country, which is the sincere and hearty prayer of,

REVEREND SIR,

Your most faithful, and

Most humble servant,

O X F O R D.

L E T T E R VIII.

To Mrs. H I L L.

MADAM,

May, 1712.

I WAS commanded some days ago to do what I had long a mind to, but avoided because I would not offend your prudence, or strain your eyes. But my Lord Masham assures me there is no danger of either; and that you have courage enough to read a letter, though it comes from a man, provided it be one of no consequence, which his Lordship would insinuate to be my case; but I hope you will not affront me so highly as to understand it so. There is not a grain of news in this town, or five miles about it, worth sending you; and what we receive from Windsor is full as insignificant, except the accounts of the Queen's health, and your house-keeping. We are assured that you keep a constant table, and that your guests leave you with full stomachs and full pockets: That Dr. Arbuthnot sometimes leaves his beloved green cloth, to come and receive your children, and pick up your money. We intend shortly to represent
your

your case to my Lord Treasurer, as what deserves commiseration; but we hope the matter is already settled between his Lordship and you, and that you are instructed to be thus magnificent, in order to carry on the cause. We reckon his Lordship's life is now secure, since a continuation of band-boxes and ink-horns, the engines of late times, were employed in vain to destroy him. He will do me the justice to tell you, that I never fail of toasting you under the name of the Governess of Dunkirk, and that you have the honour to be very particularly in my good graces. My Lady Masham still continues in a doubtful state of neither up nor down; and one of her servants told mine, that they did not expect she would cry out this fortnight.

I saw, yesterday, our Brother Hill, who promises to be more thrifty of his health, and seems to have a pretty good stock of it. I hope you receive no visits from the head-ache and the spleen: And one who knows your constitution very well, advises you, by all means, against sitting in the dusk at your window, or on the ground leaning on your hand, or at see-saw in your chair. I am,

MADAM, &c.

L E T T E R IX.

TO GENERAL HILL. *

SIR,

Windsor-Castle, August 12, 1712.

WITH great difficulty I recovered your present of the finest box in France, out of the hands of Mrs. Hill: She allowed her own to be the prettiest, but then mine was the handsomest; and, in short, she would part with neither. I pleaded my brotherhood, and got my Lord and Lady Masham to intercede: And, at last, she threw it me with a heavy sigh: But, now it is in my possession, I wish you had sent a paper of directions

* Brother to Lady Masham.

how I shall keep it. You that sit at your ease, and have nothing to do but keep Dunkirk, never consider the difficulties you have brought upon me: Twenty ladies have threatened to seize or surprize my box; and what are twenty thousand French or Dutch in comparison of those? Mrs. Hill says, it was a very idle thing in you to send such a present, to a man who can neither punish nor reward you, since Grubstreet is no more: For the Parliament has killed all the Muses of Grubstreet, who yet, in their last moments, cried out nothing but Dunkirk. My Lord Treasurer, who is the most malicious person in the world, says you ordered a goose to be drawn at the bottom of my box as a reflection upon the clergy; and that I ought to resent it: But I am not angry at all, and his Lordship observes by halves: For the goose is there drawn pecking at a snail, just as I do at him, to make him mend his pace in relation to the public, although it be hitherto in vain. And besides, Doctor Arbuthnot, who is a scholar, says you meant it as a compliment for us both: That I am the goose, who saved the Capitol by my cackling, and that his Lordship is represented by the snail, because he preserves his country by delays. But my Lord Masham is not to be endured: He observed, that, in the picture of the inside, which represents a great company dancing, there stands a fool with a cap and bells, and he would needs understand that figure as applied to me. And the worst of it was, that I happened, last night, to be at my Lady Duchess of Shrewsbury's ball; where, looking a little singular among so many fine ladies and gentlemen, his Lordship came and whispered me to look at my box; which I resented so highly, that I went away in a rage, without staying for supper. However, considering of it better, after a night's sleep, I find all this is nothing but envy, and a design to make a quarrel between you and me: But it shall not do so; for I hope your intentions were good, however malice may misrepresent them. And though I am used ill by all your family, who win my money and laugh at me, yet, to vex them more, I will forgive them for your sake; and, as soon as I can break loose, will come to Dunkirk for a fortnight, to get a little ease from my
many

many persecutions, by the Harleys, the Mashams, and the Hills: Only I intend to change my habit, for fear Colonel Killigrew should mistake me for a chimney-sweeper. In the meantime, I wish you all success in your government, loyal French subjects, virtuous ladies, little champaign, and much health: And am, with the truest respect and esteem,

S I R,

Your most obedient

Humble servant, and brother.

L E T T E R X.

To Lady ORKNEY.

MADAM,

November 21, 1712.

WHEN, upon parting with your Ladyship, you were pleased to tell me I should find your present at home, natural justice prompted me to resolve that the first use I made of it should be in paying acknowledgments to my benefactor. But, when I opened the writing-table, which I must now call mine, I found you had neither sent pens, ink, nor paper, sufficient for such an undertaking. But I ought to tell your Ladyship in order, that I first got there a much more valuable thing: And I cannot do greater honour to my scrutoire, than to assure your Ladyship that your letter is the first thing I have put in it, and shall be the last I will ever take out. I must tell your Ladyship, that I am this moment under a very great concern. I was fully convinced that I should write with a new spirit, by the influence of the materials you sent me; but it is quite otherwise: I have not a grain of invention, whether out of the confusion which attends us when we strive too much to acquit ourselves, or whether your pens and ink are fullen, and think themselves disgraced since they have changed their owner. I heartily thank your Ladyship, for making me a present that
looks

looks like a sort of establishment. I plainly see by the contrivance, that, if you were first minister, it would have been a cathedral. As it is, you have more contributed towards fixing me, than all the ministry together; for it is difficult to travel with this equipage, and it will be impossible to travel, or live without it. You have an undoubted title to whatever papers this table shall ever contain, (except your letter) and I desire you will please to have another key made for it; that, when the Court shall think fit to give me a room worth putting it into, your Ladyship may come and search it when ever you please.

I beg your Ladyship to join in laughing with me, at my unreasonable vanity, when I wished that the motto written about the wax was a description of yourself. But, if I am disappointed in that, your Ladyship will be so in all the rest; even this ink will never be able to convey your Ladyship's note as it ought. The paper will contain no wonders, but when it mentions you; neither is the seal any otherwise an emblem of my life, than by the deep impression your Ladyship has made, which nothing but my death can wear out. By the inscription about the pens, I fear there is some mistake; and that your Ladyship did not design them for me. However, I will keep them until you can find the person you intended should have them, and who will be able to dispose of them according to your predictions. I cannot find that the workman you employed, and directed, has made the least mistake: But there are four implements wanting. The two first I shall not name, because an odd superstition forbids us to accept them from our friends; the third is a sponge, which the people long have given so ill a reputation to, that I vow it shall be no gift of your Ladyship: The last is a flat ivory instrument, used in folding up of letters, which I insist you must provide.

See, Madam, the first fruits this unlucky present of yours has produced. It is but giving a fiddle to a scraper, or a pestle and mortar to an apothecary, or a Tory-pamphlet to Mrs. Ramfay. Nothing is so great a discouragement to generous persons as the fear of being worried by acknowledgements. Besides your
 Ladyship

Ladyship is an unsufferable kind of giver, making every present fifty times the value, by the circumstances and manner. And I know people in the world, who would not oblige me so much, at the cost of 1000 *l.* as you have done at that of 20 *l.* which, I must needs tell you, is an unconscionable way of dealing, and whereof, I believe, no body alive is so guilty as yourself. In short, you deceive my eyes and corrupt my judgment; nor am I now sure of any thing, but that of being, &c.

L E T T E R XI.

To the Duchess of O R M O N D.

MADAM,

December 20, 1712.

ANY other person, of less refinement and prudence than myself, would be at a loss how to thank your Grace, upon the surprise of coming home last night, and finding two pictures where only one was demanded. But I understand your Grace's malice, and do here affirm you to be the greatest prude upon earth. You will not so much as let your picture be alone in a room with a man, no not with a clergyman, and a clergyman of five and forty, and therefore resolved my Lord Duke should accompany it, and keep me in awe, that I might not presume to look too often upon it. For my own part, I begin already to repent that I ever begged your Grace's picture; and could almost find in my heart to send it you back: For, although it be the most beautiful sight I ever beheld, except the original, yet the veneration and respect it fills me with, will always make me think I am in your Grace's presence; will hinder me from saying and writing twenty idle things, that used to divert me; will set me labouring upon majestic, sublime ideas, at which I have no manner of talent; and will make those who come to visit me think I am grown, on the sudden, wonderful flatly and reserved. But, in life, we must take the evil with the good; and it is one comfort, that I know how to be re-

venged.

venge. For the sight of your Grace's resemblance, will perpetually remind me of paying my duty to your person; which will give your Grace the torment, and me the felicity of a more frequent attendance.

But, after all, to deal plainly with your Grace, your picture (and I must say the same of my Lord Duke's) will be of very little use, further than to let others see the honour you are pleased to do me. For all the accomplishments of your mind and person are so deeply printed in my heart, and represent you so lively to my imagination, that I should take it for a high affront, if you believed it in the power of colours to refresh my memory: Almost as high a one, as if your Grace should deny me the justice of being, with the most profound respect and gratitude,

MADAM,

Your Grace's, &c.

L E T T E R XII.

To the Duke of ARGYLE.

MY LORD,

January 20, 1712-13.

I WOULD myself have delivered the answer I sent yesterday to your Grace at court, by Dr. Arbuthnot, if I had not thought the right of complaining to be on my side: For I think it was my due, that you should have immediately told me whatever you had heard amiss of my conduct to your Grace. When I had the honour to be first known to those in the ministry, I made it an express condition, that whoever did me ill offices, they should inform me of what was said, and hear my vindication; that I might not be mortified with countenances estranged of the sudden, and be at a loss for the cause. And, I think, there is no person alive, whose favour or protection I would purchase at that expence. I could not speak to the disadvantage of
your

your Grace without being ungrateful, (which is an ill word) since you were pleased, voluntarily, to make so many professions of favour to me for some years past; and your being a Duke and a General, would have swayed me not at all in my respect for your person, if I had not thought you to abound in qualities, which I wish were easier to be found in those of your rank. I have indeed sometimes heard what your Grace was told I reported; but, as I am a stranger to coffee-houses, so it is a great deal below me to spread coffee-house reports. This accusation is a little the harder upon me, because I have always appeared fond of your Grace's character; and have, with great industry, related several of your generous actions, on purpose to remove the imputation of the only real fault (for I say nothing of common frailties) which I ever heard laid to your charge. I confess, I have often thought that Homer's description of Achilles bore some resemblance to your Grace, but I do not remember that ever I said so. At the same time I think few men were ever born with nobler qualities, to fulfil and adorn every office of a subject, a friend, and a protector, &c.

L E T T E R XIII.

To Lord Chancellor HARCOURT.

MY LORD,

May, 1713.

I WONDER your Lordship would presume to go out of town, and leave me in fear that I should not see you before I go to Ireland, which will be in a week. It is a strange thing, you should prefer your own health, and ease, and convenience, before my satisfaction. I want your Lordship for my solicitor: I want your letter to your younger brother of Ireland, to put him under my government: I want an opportunity of giving your Lordship my humblest thanks, for a hundred favours you have done me: I wanted the sight of your Lordship this day in

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York-

York-buildings *. Pray, my Lord, come to town before I leave it, and supply all my wants. My Lord-Treasurer uses me barbarously; appoints to carry me to Kensington, and makes me walk four miles at midnight. He laughs when I mention a thousand pound, which he gives me; though a thousand pound is a very serious thing, &c.

L E T T E R XIV.

To Mr. ADDISON.

SIR,

May 13, 1713.

I WAS told yesterday, by several persons, that Mr. Steele had reflected upon me in his Guardian; which I could hardly believe, until, sending for the paper of the day, I found he had, in several parts of it, insinuated with the utmost malice, that I was author of the Examiner; and abused me in the grossest manner he could possibly invent, and set his name to what he had written. Now, Sir, if I am not author of the Examiner, how will Mr. Steele be able to defend himself from the imputation of the highest degree of baseness, ingratitude, and injustice? Is he so ignorant of my temper, and of my style? Has he never heard that the author of the Examiner (to whom I am altogether a stranger †) did, a month or two ago, vindicate me from having any concern in it? Should not Mr. Steele have first expostulated with me, as a friend? Have I deserved this usage from Mr. Steele, who knows very well that my Lord Treasurer has kept him in his employment upon my intreaty and intercession? My Lord Chancellor and Lord Bolingbroke will be witnesses, how I was reproached by my Lord Treasurer, upon the ill returns Mr. Steele made to his Lordship's indulgence, &c.

* Lord Treasurer Oxford then lived there.

† The reader will please to recollect, that Dr. Swift never writ any Examiners after the 7th of June 1711: He took up that paper at N^o XIII. and laid it down at N^o XLIV.

L E T T E R XV.

From Mr. STEELE to Dr. SWIFT.

SIR,

May 19, 1713.

MR. ADDISON shewed me your letter, wherein you mention me. They laugh at you, if they make you believe your interposition has kept me thus long in my office. If you have spoken in my behalf at any time, I am glad I have always treated you with respect; though I believe you an accomplice of the Examiner's. In the letter you are angry at, you see I have no reason for being so merciful to him, but out of regard to the imputation you lie under. You do not in direct terms say you are not concerned with him; but make it an argument of your innocence that the Examiner has declared you have nothing to do with him. I believe I could prevail upon the Guardian to say there was a mistake in putting my name in his paper: But the English would laugh at us, should we argue in so Irish a manner. I am heartily glad of your being made Dean of St. Patrick's. I am,

SIR,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

L E T T E R XVI.

To Mr. S T E E L E.

S I R,

* * * * *

† I may probably know better, when they are disposed * * *
 * * * The case was thus: I did with the utmost application,
 and desiring to lay all my credit upon it, desire Mr. Harley (as
 he then was called) to shew you mercy. He said he would,
 and wholly upon my account: That he would appoint you a
 day to see him: That he would not expect you should quit any
 friend or principle. Some days after, he told me he had ap-
 pointed you a day, and you had not kept it; upon which he
 reproached me, as engaging for more than I could answer; and
 advised me to more caution another time. I told him, and de-
 sired my Lord Chancellor* and Lord Bolingbroke to be witnesses,
 that I would never speak for or against you as long as I lived;
 only I would, and that it was still my opinion, you should have
 mercy till you gave further provocations. This is the history of
 what you think fit to call, in the spirit of insulting, "their
 laughing at me:" And you may do it securely; for, by the most
 inhuman dealings, you have wholly put it out of my power,
 as a Christian, to do you the least ill office. Next I desire to
 know, whether the greatest services ever done by one man to
 another, may not have the same turn as properly applied to
 them? And, once more, suppose they did laugh at me, I ask
 whether my inclinations to serve you merit to be rewarded by

† It has unluckily happened that two or three lines have been torn by accident from the
 beginning of this letter; and, by the same accident, two or three lines are missing towards
 the latter part, which were written on the back part of the paper which was torn off. But
 what remains of this letter will, I presume, be very satisfactory to the intelligent reader,
 upon many accounts, and especially because a light into this affair will justify the prodigious
 severity of Dr. Swift's pen against Mr. Steele, in his Public Spirit of the Whigs.

* Lord Harcourt.

the

the vilest treatment, whether they succeeded or no? If your interpretation were true, I was laughed at only for your sake; which, I think, is going pretty far to serve a friend. As to the letter I complain of, I appeal to your most partial friends, whether you ought not either to have asked, or written to me, or desired to have been informed by a third hand, whether I were any way concerned in writing the Examiner? And, if I had shuffled, or answered indirectly, or affirmed it, or said I would not give you satisfaction; you might then have wrecked your revenge with some colour of justice. I have several times assured Mr. Addison, and fifty others, that I had not the least hand in writing any of those Papers; and that I had never exchanged one syllable with the supposed author in my life, that I can remember, nor even seen him above twice, and that in mixt company, in a place where he came to pay his attendance. One thing more I must observe to you, that, a year or two ago, when some printers used to bring me their papers in manuscript, I absolutely forbid them to give any hints against Mr. Addison and you and some others; and have frequently struck out reflexions upon you in particular, and should (I believe) have done it still, if I had not wholly left off troubling myself about those kind of things.

I protest I never saw any thing more liable to exception, than every part is of the letter you were pleased to write me. You plead, that I do not, in mine to Mr. Addison, in direct terms, say I am not concerned with the Examiner: And is that an excuse for the most savage injuries in the world a week before? How far you can prevail with the Guardian I shall not trouble myself to enquire; and am more concerned how you will clear your own honour and conscience, than my reputation. I shall hardly lose one friend by what you † * * * * *
I know not any * * * * * laugh at me for any * * * * *
absurdity of yours. There are solecisms in morals as well as in languages; and to which of the virtues you will reconcile your conduct to me, is past my imagination. Be pleased only

† Here the manuscript is torn.

to put these questions to yourself. If Dr. Swift be entirely innocent of what I accuse him, how shall I be able to make him satisfaction? And how do I know but he may be entirely innocent? If he was laughed at only because he solicited for me, is that a sufficient reason for me to say the vilest things of one in print under my hand, without any provocation? And, how do I know but he may be in the right, when he says I was kept in my employment at his interposition? If he never once reflected on me the least in any paper, and hath hindered many others from doing it; how can I justify myself, for endeavouring in mine to ruin his credit as a Christian and a clergyman? I am,

S I R,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. S.

L E T T E R XVII.

Mr. STEELE to Dr. SWIFT.

S I R,

Bloomsbury, May 26, 1713.

I HAVE received yours, and find it is impossible for a man to judge in his own case. For an allusion to you, as one under the imputation of helping the Examiner, and owning I was restrained out of respect to you, you tell Addison under your hand, you think me the vilest of mankind, and bid him tell me so. I am obliged to you for any kind things said in my behalf to the Treasurer; and assure you, when you were in Ireland, you were the constant subject of my talk to men in power at that time. As to the vilest of mankind, it would be a glorious world if I were. For I would not conceal my thoughts in favour of an injured man, though all the powers on earth gainsaid it, to be made the first man in the nation. This position, I know, will ever obstruct my way in the world; and I have conquered my desires accordingly. I have resolved to
content

content myself with what I can get by my own industry, and the improvement of a small estate, without being anxious whether I am ever in a court again or not. I do assure you, I do not speak this calmly, after the ill usage in your letter to Addison, out of terror of your wit or my Lord Treasurer's power, but pure kindness to the agreeable qualities, I once so passionately delighted in, in you. You know, I know no body but one that talked after you, could tell Addison had bridled me in point of party. This was ill hinted, both with relation to him, and,

S I R,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

I know no party; but the truth of the question is what I will support as well as I can, when any man I honour is attacked.

L E T T E R XVIII.

To Mr. STEELE.

S I R,

May 27, 1713.

THE reason I give you the trouble of this reply to your letter, is because I am going in a very few days to Ireland; and, although I intend to return towards winter, yet it may happen, from the common accidents of life, that I may never see you again.

In your yesterday's letter, you are pleased to take the complaining side, and think it hard I should write to Mr. Addison as I did, only for an allusion. This allusion was only calling a clergyman of some little distinction an infidel. A clergyman who was your friend, who always loved you, who had endeavoured at least to serve you; and who, whenever he did write any thing,

thing, made it sacred to himself never to fling out the least hint against you.

One thing you are pleased to fix on me, as what you are sure of; that the Examiner had talked after me, when he said Mr. Addison had bridled you in point of party. I do not read one in six of those papers, nor ever knew he had such a passage; and I am so ignorant of this, that I cannot tell what it means: Whether, that Mr. Addison kept you close to a party, or that he hindered you from writing about party. I never talkt or writ to that author in my life; so that he could not have learned it from me. And, in short, I solemnly affirm, that, with relation to every friend I have, I am as innocent as it is possible for a human creature to be. And, whether you believe me or not, I think, with submission, you ought to act as if you believed me, till you have demonstration to the contrary. I have all the ministry to be my witnesses, that there is hardly a man of wit of the adverse party, whom I have not been so bold as to recommend often and with earnestness to them. For, I think, principles at present are quite out of the case, and that we dispute wholly about persons. In these last you and I differ; but in the other, I think, we agree: For I have in print professed myself in politics to be what we formerly called a Whig.

As to the great man * whose defence you undertake; though I do not think so well of him as you do, yet I have been the cause of preventing five hundred hard things to be said against him.

I am sensible I have talked too much when myself is the subject; therefore I conclude with sincere wishes for your health and prosperity, and am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

You cannot but remember, that, in the only thing I ever published with my name, I took care to celebrate you as much as I could, and in as handsome a manner, though it was in a letter to the present Lord Treasurer.

* Duke of Marlborough.

L E T T E R XIX.

To Lord Treasurer OXFORD.

On the Death of his Daughter, the Marchioness of Caermarthen.

MY LORD,

November 21, 1713.

YOUR Lordship is the person in the world to whom every body ought to be silent upon such an occasion as this, which is only to be supported by the greatest wisdom and strength of mind; wherein, God knows, the wisest and best of us, who would presume to offer their thoughts, are far your inferiors. It is true, indeed, that a great misfortune is apt to weaken the mind, and disturb the understanding. This, indeed, might be some pretence to us to administer our consolations, if we had been wholly strangers to the person gone. But, my Lord, whoever had the honour to know her, wants a comforter as much as your Lordship; because, though their loss is not so great, yet they have not the same firmness and prudence, to support the want of a friend, a patroness, a benefactor, as you have to support that of a daughter. My Lord, both religion and reason forbid me to have the least concern for that Lady's death, upon her own account; and he must be an ill Christian, or a perfect stranger to her virtues, who would not wish himself, with all submission to God Almighty's will, in her condition. But your Lordship, who hath lost such a daughter, and we, who have lost such a friend, and the world, which hath lost such an example; have, in our several degrees, greater cause to lament, than, perhaps, was ever given by any private person before. For, my Lord, I have fate down to think of every amiable quality that could enter into the composition of a lady, and could not single out one, which she did not possess in as high a perfection as human nature is capable of. But, as to your Lordship's own particular, as it is an unconceiveable misfortune to have lost such a daughter, so it is a possession which

few can boast of, to have had such a daughter. I have often said to your Lordship, that I never knew any one, by many degrees, so happy in their domestic as you; and I affirm you are so still, though not by so many degrees: From whence it is very obvious, that your Lordship should reflect upon what you have left, and not upon what you have lost.

To say the truth, my Lord, you began to be too happy for a mortal; much more happy than is usual with the dispensations of Providence long to continue. You had been the great instrument of preserving your country from foreign and domestic ruin: You have had the felicity of establishing your family in the greatest lustre, without any obligation to the bounty of your Prince, or any industry of your own: You have triumphed over the violence and treachery of your enemies, by your courage and abilities; and, by the steadiness of your temper, over the inconstancy and caprice of your friends. Perhaps your Lordship has felt too much complacency within yourself, upon this universal success: And God Almighty, who would not disappoint your endeavours for the public, thought fit to punish you with a domestic loss, where he knew your heart was most exposed; and, at the same time, has fulfilled his own wise purposes, by rewarding, in a better life, that excellent creature he has taken from you.

I know not, my Lord, why I write this to you, nor hardly what I am writing. I am sure it is not from any compliance with form; it is not from thinking that I can give your Lordship any ease. I think it was an impulse upon me that I should say something: And whether I shall send you what I have written, I am yet in doubt, &c.

L E T T E R XX.

To the ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN.*

MY LORD,

London, December 31, 1713.

YOUR Grace's letter, which I received but last post, is of an earlier date than what have since arrived. We have received the Address for removing the Chancellor, and the Counter-addresses from the Lords and Convocation; and you will know, before this reaches you, our sentiments of them here. I am at a loss what to say in this whole affair. When I writ to you before, I dropt a word on purpose for you to take notice of; that our Court seemed resolved to be very firm in their resolutions about Ireland. I think it impossible for the two kingdoms to proceed long upon a different scheme of politics. The controversy with the city I am not master of: It took it's rise before I ever concerned myself with affairs of Ireland, farther than to be an instrument of doing some services to the kingdom, for which I have been ill requited. But, my Lord, the question with us here, is, whether there was a necessity that the other party should be a majority. There was put into my hands a list of your House of Commons, by some who know the kingdom well: I desired they would (as we often do here) set a mark on the names of those who would be for the ministry. I found they amounted to 143; which, I think, comes within seven of an equality. Twenty names beside they could not determine upon: So that, suppose eight to be of the same side, there would be a majority by one. But, besides, we reckon that the first number, 143, would easily rise to a great majority, by the influence of the Government, if that had been thought fit. This is demonstration to us: For the Government there has more influence than the Court here; and yet our Court carried it for many years, against a natural majority, and a much greater one. I shall not examine the reasons among you for proceeding

* Doctor William King.

otherwise: But your Grace will find that we are determined upon the conclusion; which is, that Ireland must proceed on the same foot with England. I am of opinion, my Lord, that nothing could do more hurt to the Whig-party in both kingdoms, than their manner of proceeding in your House of Commons: It will confirm the Crown and ministry, that there can be no safety while those people are able to give disturbance: And, indeed, the effects it hath already produced here are hardly to be believed. Neither do we here think it worth our while to be opposed, and encourage our enemies, only for seventy thousand pounds a year; to supply which it may not be hard to find other expedients. And, when there shall be occasion for a parliament, we are confident a new one may be called, with a majority of men in the interest of the Queen and Church. For, when the present majority pretends to regard either, we look upon such professions to signify no more, than if they were penned by my Lord Wharton or Mr. Moleworth. I have suffered very much by my tenderness to some persons of that party, which I still preserve; but I believe it will not be long in my power to serve those who may want it. It would be endless to recount to your Grace the reproaches that have been made me on account of your neighbour.

It is true, my Lord, we do not care to be troubled with the affairs of Ireland: But, there being no war, nor meeting of parliament, we have leisure at present. Besides, we look on ourselves as touched in the tenderest part. We know the Whig party are preparing to attack us next session; and their prevailing in Ireland would, we think, be a great strength and encouragement to them here: Besides, our remissness would dishearten our friends, and make them think we acted a trimming game. There are some things which we much wonder at, as they are represented. The Address for removing the Chancellor is grounded upon two facts; in the former of which he was only concerned with several others; the criminal was poor and penitent, and a *noli prosequi* was no illegal thing. As to Moor's business, the Chancellor's speech on that occasion hath been

been transmitted hither, and seems to clear him from the imputation of prejudging. Another thing we wonder at, is, to find the Commons, in their Votes, approve the sending for the guards, by whom a man was killed. Such a thing would, they say, look monstrous in England.

Your Grace seems to think, they will not break on money-matters; but we are taught another opinion: That they will not pass the great bill, until they have satisfaction about the Chancellor. And what the consequence of that will be, I suppose you may guess from what you know by this time.

My Lord, we can judge no otherwise here, than by the representations made to us. I sincerely look upon your Grace to be master of as much wisdom and sagacity as any person I have known; and, from my particular respect to you, and your great abilities, shall never presume to censure your proceedings, until I am fully apprised of the motives. Your Grace is looked on here as altogether in the other party, which I do never allow, when it is said to me. I conceive you to follow the dictates of your reason and conscience; and, whoever does that, will, in public management, often differ, as well from one side as another.

As to myself, I take Ireland to be the worst place to be in while the parliament sits; and probably I may think the same of England in a month or two. I have few obligations (further than personal friendship and civilities) to any party: I have nothing to ask for but a little money, to pay my debts; which, I doubt, they never will give me. And, wanting wisdom to judge better, I follow those who I think are for preserving the constitution in church and state, without examining whether they do so from a principle of virtue, or of interest, &c.

L E T T E R XXI.

To the Earl of PETERBOROW.

MY LORD,

London, May 18, 1714.

I HAD done myself the honour of writing to your Excellency, above a month before yours of March the 5th came to my hands. The Saturday's dinners have not been resumed since the Queen's return from Windsor; and I am not sorry, since it become so mingled an assembly, and of so little use either to business or conversation: So that I was content to read your queries to our two great friends. The Treasurer stuck at them all; but the Secretary acquitted himself of the first, by assuring me he had often written to your Excellency.

I was told the other day, of an answer you made to somebody abroad, who enquired of you the state and dispositions of our Court: That you could not tell, for you had been out of England a fortnight. In your letter, you mention the World of the Moon, and apply it to England; but the moon changes but once in four weeks. By both these instances, it appears you have a better opinion of our steadiness than we deserve; for I do not remember, since you left us, that we have continued above four days in the same view, or four minutes with any manner of concert. I assure you, my Lord, for the concern I have for the common cause, with relation to affairs both at home and abroad, and from the personal love I bear to our friends in power, I never led a life so thoroughly uneasy as I do at present. Our situation is so bad, that our enemies could not, without abundance of invention and ability, have placed us so ill, if we had left it entirely to their management. For my own part, my head turns round; and, after every conversation, I come away just one degree worse informed than I went. I am glad, for the honour of our nation, to find by your Excellency's letter, that some other courts have a share of frenzy, though not equal, nor of the same nature with ours. The height of honest mens
wishes

wishes at present is to rub off this session; after which, no body has the impudence to expect that we shall not immediately fall to pieces: Nor is any thing I write the least secret, even to a Whig footman.

The Queen is pretty well at present; but the least disorder she has, puts all in alarm; and, when it is over, we act as if she were immortal. Neither is it possible to persuade people to make any preparations against an evil day. There is a negotiation now in hand, which, I hope, will not be abortive: The States-General are willing to declare themselves fully satisfied with the peace and Queen's measures, &c. and that is too popular a matter to flight. It is impossible to tell you whether the Prince of Hanover intends to come over or no. I should think the latter, by the accounts I have seen; yet our adversaries continue strenuously to assert otherwise, and very industriously give out, that the Lord Treasurer is at bottom; which has given some jealousies not only to his best friends, but to some I shall not name; yet I am confident they do him wrong. This formidable journey is the perpetual subject both of Court and coffee-house chat. Our mysterious and unconcerted ways of proceeding have, as it is natural, taught every body to be refiners, and to reason themselves into a thousand various conjectures: Even I, who converse most with people in power, am not free from this evil: And, particularly, I thought myself twenty times in the right, by drawing conclusions very regularly from premises which have proved wholly wrong. I think this, however, to be a plain proof that we act altogether by chance, and that the game, such as it is, plays itself.

By the present enclosed in your Excellency's letter, I find the Sicilians to be bad delineators, and worse poets. As sneakingly as the Prince looks at the Bishop's foot, I could have made him look ten times worse; and have done more right to the piece, by placing your Excellency there representing your Mistress the Queen, and delivering the crown to the Bishop, with orders where to place it. I should like your new King very well, if he would make Sicily his constant residence, and use
Savoy

Savoy only as a commendam. Old books have given me great ideas of that island. I imagine every acre there worth three in England; and that a wise prince, in such a situation, would, after some years, be able to make what figure he pleased in the Mediterranean.

The Duke of Shrewsbury, not liking the weather on our side the water, continues in Ireland, although he formally took his leave there six weeks ago. Tom Harley is every hour expected here, and writes me word, he has succeeded at Hanover to his wishes. Lord Strafford writes the same, and gives himself no little merit upon it.

Barber the printer was, some time ago, in great distress, upon printing a pamphlet, of which evil tongues would needs call me the author*: He was brought before your House, which addressed the Queen in a body, who kindly published a proclamation, with 300 l. to discover. The fault was calling the Scots a fierce poor northern people. So well protected are those who scribble for the Government. Upon which, I now put one query to your Excellency, What has a man without employment to do among ministers, when he can neither serve himself, his friends, nor the public?

In my former letter, which I suppose was sent to Paris to meet you there, I gave you joy of the government of Minorca. One advantage you have by being abroad, that you keep your friends; and I can name almost a dozen great men who thoroughly hate one another, yet all love your Lordship. If you have a mind to preserve their friendship, keep at a distance; or come over and shew your power, by reconciling at least two of them; and remember, at the same time, that this last is an impossibility. If your Excellency were here, I would speak to you without any constraint; but the fear of accidents, in the conveyance of this letter, makes me keep to generals. I am sure you would have prevented a great deal of ill, if you had continued among us; but people of my level must be content

* The Public Spirit of the Whigs.

to have their opinion asked, and to see it not followed; although I have always given it with the utmost freedom and impartiality. I have troubled you too much; and, as a long letter from you is the most agreeable thing one can receive, so the most agreeable return would be a short one. I am ever, with the greatest respect and truth,

MY LORD,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient, and

Most humble servant.

L E T T E R XXII.

To Lord Treasurer OXFORD.

MY LORD,

July 1st, 1714.

WHEN I was with you, I have said more than once that I would never allow quality or station made any real difference between men. Being now absent and forgotten, I have changed my mind: You have a thousand people who can pretend they love you, with as much appearance of sincerity as I; so that, according to common justice, I can have but a thousandth part in return of what I give. And this difference is wholly owing to your station. And the misfortune is still the greater, because I always loved you just so much the worse for your station. For, in your public capacity, you have often angered me to the heart; but, as a private man, never once. So that, if I only look towards myself, I could wish you a private man to-morrow. For, I have nothing to ask, at least nothing that you will give, which is the same thing: And then you would see whether I should not, with much more willingness, attend you in a retirement, whenever you please to give me leave, than ever I did at London or Windsor. From these senti-

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ments,

ments, I will never write to you, if I can help it, otherwise than as to a private person, or allow myself to have been obliged by you in any other capacity.

The memory of one great instance of your candour and justice, I will carry to my grave: That, having been in a manner domestic with you for almost four years, it was never in the power of any public or concealed enemy to make you think ill of me, though malice and envy were often employed to that end. If I live, posterity shall know that, and more; which, though you and some body that shall be nameless seem to value less than I could wish, is all the return I can make you. Will you give me leave to say how I would desire to stand in your memory? As one who was truly sensible of the honour you did him, though he was too proud to be vain upon it: As one who was neither assuming, officious, nor teasing; who never wilfully misrepresented persons or facts to you, nor consulted his passions when he gave a character. And, lastly, as one whose indiscretions proceeded altogether from a weak head, and not an ill heart. I will add one thing more, which is the highest compliment I can make, that I never was afraid of offending you, nor am now in any pain for the manner I write to you in. I have said enough; and, like one at your levee, having made my bow, I shrink back into the crowd. I am, &c.

L E T T E R XXIII.

To the Duke of ORMOND.

MY LORD,

July 17th, 1714.

I NEVER expected that a great man should remember me in absence, because I knew it was unreasonable, and that your Grace is too much troubled with persons about you, to think of those who are out of the way. But, if Dr. Pratt has done me right, I am mistaken; and your Grace has almost declared that you expected a letter from me; which you should never have had,

had, if the ministry had been like you: For then I should have been always near enough to have carried my own messages. But I was heartily weary of them; and your Grace will be my witness, that I despaired of any good success, from their manner of proceeding, some months before I left town; where I thought it became me to continue no longer, when I could do no service either to myself, my friends, or the public. By the accounts I have from particular friends, I find the animosity between the two Great Men does not at all diminish: Though I hear it is given out that your Grace's successor* has undertaken a general reconciliation. If it be true, this will succeed like the rest of his late undertakings.

I must beg your Grace's pardon, if I intreat you, for several reasons, to see Lady Masham as often as you conveniently can: And I must likewise desire you, to exert yourself in the disposal of the bishopricks in Ireland. It is a scandal to the Crown, and an injury to the church, that they should be so long delayed. There are some hot headed people, on the other side the water, who understand nothing of our Court, and would confound every thing; always employed to raise themselves upon the ruins of those characters they have blasted. I wish their intermeddling may not occasion a worse choice than your Grace approved of last winter. However, I beg you will take care that no injury be done to Dr. Pratt, or Dr. Elwood, who have more merit and candour than a hundred of their detractors. I am, with the greatest respect,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's most obedient, and
Most obliged humble servant,

J. S.

* The Duke of Shrewsbury.

L E T T E R XXIV.

To Lord OXFORD,

On hearing his Intentions to resign his Staff.

MY LORD,

July 25th, 1714.

TO-MORROW se'en-night I shall set out from hence to Ireland; my licence for absence being so near out, that I can stay no longer without taking another. I say this, that, if you have any commands, I shall have just time enough to receive them before I go. And, if you resign in a few days, as I am told you design to do, you may possibly retire to Herefordshire, where I shall readily attend you, if you soon withdraw; or, after a few months stay in Ireland, I will return at the beginning of winter, if you please to command me. I speak in the dark, because I am altogether so; and what I say may be absurd. You will please to pardon me; for, as I am wholly ignorant, so I have none of your composure of mind. I pray God Almighty direct and defend you, &c.

L E T T E R XXV.

To Lady MASHAM.

MADAM,

August 7th, 1714.

IHAD the honour of a letter from your Ladyship a week ago; and, the day after, came the unfortunate news of the Queen's death, which made it altogether unseasonable, as perhaps it may be still, to give your Ladyship this kind of trouble. Although my concern be as great as that of any other good subject, for the loss of so excellent a Princess; yet I can assure you, Madam, it is little to what I suffer upon your Ladyship's particular account. As you excel in the several duties of a tender mother, a true friend, and a loving wife, so you have been the best and most

faithful servant to your Mistress, that ever any Sovereign had. And although you have not been rewarded suitable to your merits, I doubt not but God will make it up to you in another life, and to your children and posterity in this. I cannot go about to comfort your Ladyship in your great affliction, otherwise than by begging you to make use of your own piety and your own wisdom, of both which you have so great a share. You are no longer a servant, but you are still a wife, a mother, and a friend; and you are bound in conscience to take care of your health, in order to acquit yourself of these duties, as well as you did of the other, which is now at an end.

I pray God to support your Ladyship, under so great a share of load, in this general calamity: And remain, with the greatest respect and truth,

MADAM, Your Ladyship's

Most obedient, and

Most obliged servant.

I most heartily thank your Ladyship for the favourable expressions and intentions in your letter, written at a time when you were at the height of favour and power.

L E T T E R XXVI.

To Lord BOLINGBROKE.

MY LORD,

August 7th, 1714.

I HAD yours of the third, and our country post is so ordered, that I could acknowledge it no sooner. It is true, my Lord, the events of five days last week might furnish morals for another volume of Seneca. As to my Lord Oxford, I told him freely my opinion before I left the town, that he ought to resign at the end of the session. I said the same thing often to your Lordship and my Lady Masham, although you seemed to think otherwise, for some reasons; and said so to him one afternoon, when I met

you

you there with my Lord Chancellor. But, I remember, one of the last nights I saw him, (it was at Lady Masham's lodgings) I said to him, that, upon the foot your Lordship and he then were, it was impossible you could serve together two months; and I think I was just a week out in my calculation. I am only sorry, that it was not a resignation, rather than a removal; because the personal kindness and distinction I always received from his Lordship and you, gave me such a love for you both, (if you great men will allow that expression in a little one) that I resolved to preserve it entire, however you differed between yourselves; and, in this I did, for some time, follow your commands and example. I impute it more to the candour of each of you, than to my own conduct; that, having been, for two years, almost the only man who went between you, I never observed the least alteration in either of your countenances towards me. I will swear for no man's sincerity, much less for that of a minister of state: But thus much I have said, wherever it was proper, that your Lordship's proposals were always the fairest in the world, and I faithfully delivered them as I was empowered: And, although I am no very skilful man at intrigue, yet I durst forfeit my head, that, if the case were mine, I could have either agreed with you, or put you *dans votre tort*. When I saw all reconciliation impracticable, I thought fit to retire; and was resolved, for some reasons (not to be mentioned at this distance) to have nothing to do with whoever was to be last in. For, either I should not be needed, or not be made use of. And, let the case be what it would, I had rather be out of the way. All I pretended was, to speak my thoughts freely, to represent persons and things without any mingle of my own interest or passions, and, sometimes, to make use of an evil instrument, which was like to cost me dear, even from those for whose service it was employed. I did believe there would be no further occasion for me, upon any of those accounts. Besides, I had so ill an opinion of the Queen's health, that I was confident you had not a quarter of time left for the work you had to do; having let slip the opportunity of cultivating those dispositions

tions she had got after her sickness at Windsor. I never left pressing my Lord Oxford with the utmost earnestness, (and perhaps more than became me) that we might be put in such a condition, as not to lie at mercy on this great event. And I am your Lordship's witness, that you have nothing to answer for in that matter. I will, for once, talk in my trade, and tell you that I never saw any thing more resemble our proceedings, than a man of fourscore, or in a deep consumption, going on in his sins, although his physician assured him he could not live a week. Those wonderful refinements, of keeping men in expectation, and not letting your friends be too strong, might be proper in their season. *Sed nunc non erat his locus.* Besides, you kept your bread and butter till it was too stale for any body to care for it. Thus your machine of four years modelling is dashed to pieces in a moment: And, as well by the choice of the regents, as by their proceedings, I do not find there is any intention of managing you in the least. The whole nineteen consist either of the highest party-men, or (which mightily mends the matter) of such who left us upon the subject of the peace, and affected jealousies about the succession. It might reasonably be expected, that this quiet possession might convince the Successor of the good dispositions of the Church-party towards him; and I ever thought there was a mighty failure somewhere or other, that this could not have been done in the Queen's life. — But this is too much for what is past; and yet, whoever observed and disliked the causes, hath some title to quarrel with the effects. As to what is to come, your Lordship is in the prime of your years, *plein des esprits qui fournissent les esperances*; and you are now again to act that part (though in another assembly) which you formerly discharged so much to your own honour, and the advantage of your cause. You set out with the wind and tide against you; yet, at last, arrived at your port, from whence you are now driven back in open sea again. But, not to involve myself in an allegory, I doubt whether, after this disappointment, you can go on with the same vigour you did in your more early youth. Experience, which has added to your wisdom,

has lessened your resolution. You are now a general, who, after many victories, hath lost a battle, and have not the same confidence in yourself or your troops. Your fellow labourers have either made their fortunes, or are past them, or will go over to seek them on the other side. ——— Yet, after all, and to resume a little courage: To be at the head of the church-interest is no mean station; and that, as I take it, is now in your Lordship's power. In order to which, I could heartily wish for that union you mention; because, I need not tell you, that some are more dextrous at pulling down their enemies than, &c. We have certainly more heads and hands than our adversaries; but, it must be confessed, they have stronger shoulders and better hearts. I only doubt my friends, the rabble, are at least grown trimmers; and that, setting up the cry of Trade and Wool, against Sacheverel and the Church, hath cooled their zeal. I take it for granted, there will be a new parliament against winter; and, if they will retain me on the other side, as their counsellor, I will engage them a majority. But, since it is possible I may not be so far in their good graces, if your Lordship thinks my service may be of any use in this new world, I will be ready to attend you by the beginning of winter. For the misfortune is, that I must go to Ireland to take the oaths; which I never reflected on till I had notice from some friends in London. And the sooner I go the better, to prevent accidents; for I would not willingly want a favour at present. I think to set out in a few days, but not before your Lordship's commands and instructions may reach me.

I cannot conclude without offering my humblest thanks and acknowledgments, for your Lordship's kind intentions towards me, (if this accident had not happened) of which I received some general hints. ——— I pray God direct your Lordship: And I desire you will believe me to be, what I am with the utmost truth and respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient, &c.

L E T -

L E T T E R XXVII.

To Lord BOLINGBROKE.

MY LORD,

Dublin, September 14th, 1714.

I HOPE your Lordship, who were always so kind to me while you were a servant, will not forget me now in your greatness. I give you this caution, because I really believe you will be apt to be exalted in your new station of retirement, which was the only honourable post that those who gave it you were capable of conferring. And, as in other employments, the circumstances with which they are given are sometimes said to be equally valuable with the gift itself, so it was in your case. The sealing up your office, and especially without any directions from the King, discovered such sentiments of you in such persons, as would make any honest man proud to share them.

I must be so free to tell you, that this new office of retirement will be harder for you to keep than that of Secretary: And you lie under one great disadvantage besides your being too young; that, whereas none but knaves and fools desire to deprive you of your former post, all the honest men in England will be for putting you out of this.

I go on in writing, though I know not how to send you my letter. If I were sure it would be opened by the sealers of your office, I would fill it with some terms of art, that they would better deserve than relish.

It is a point of wisdom too hard for me, not to look back with vexation upon past management. Divines tell us often from their pulpits, that half the pains which some men take to be damned, would have compassed their salvation: This, I am sure, was extremely our case. I know not what motions your Lordship intends; but, if I see the old Whig-measures taken in the next elections, and that the court, the bank, East-India, and South-sea, act strenuously, and procure a majority; I shall lie down, and beg of Jupiter to heave the cart out of the dirt.

I would give all I am worth, for the sake of my country, that you had left your mantle with some body in the House of Commons, or that a dozen honest men among them had only so many shreds of it. — And so, having dispatched all our friends in England, off flies a splinter, and knocks two Governors of Ireland dead. I remember, we never had leisure to think of that kingdom. The poor dead Queen is used like the giant Longaron in Rabelais. Pantagruel took Longaron by the heels, and made him his weapon to kill twenty other giants; then flung him over a river in the town, and killed two ducks and an old cat. I could talk very wisely to you, but you would regard me not. I could bid you, *non desperare de republicâ*; and say, that *res nolunt diu malè administrari*. But I will cut all short, and assure you, that if you do not save us, I will not be at the pains of racking my invention to guess how we shall be saved; and yet I have read Polybius.

They tell me you have a very good crop of wheat, but the barley is bad. Hay will certainly be dear, unless we have an open winter. I hope you found your hounds in good condition, and that Bright has not made a stirrup-leather of your jocky-belt.

I imagine you now smoaking with your humdrum squire, (I forget his name) who can go home at midnight, and open a dozen gates when he is drunk.

I beg your Lordship not to ask me to lend you any money. If you will come and live at the Deanry, and furnish up an apartment, I will find you in victuals and drink, which is more than ever you got by the Court: And, as proud as you are, I hope to see you accept a part of this offer before I die.

The — take this country; it has, in three weeks, spoilt two as good sixpenny pamphlets, as ever a proclamation was issued out against. And, since we talk of that, will there not be * * * * * † I shall be cured of loving England, as the fellow was of his ague, by getting himself whipt through the town.

† Here are two or three words in the manuscript totally erased and illegible.

I would retire too if I could; but my country-seat, where I have an acre of ground, is gone to ruin. The wall of my own apartment is fallen down, and I want mud to rebuild it, and straw to thatch it. Besides, a spiteful neighbour has seized on six foot of ground, carried off my trees, and spoiled my grove. All this is literally true, and I have not fortitude enough to go and see those devastations.

But, in return, I live a country-life in town, see no body, and go every day once to prayers; and hope, in a few months, to grow as stupid as the present situation of affairs will require.

Well, after all, parsons are not such bad company, especially when they are under subjection; and I let none but such come near me.

However, pray God forgive them, by whose indolence, neglect, or want of friendship, I am reduced to live with twenty leagues of salt-water between your Lordship and me, &c.

L E T T E R XXVIII.

To the Earl of OXFORD.

MY LORD,

Dublin, July 19. 1715.

IT may look like an idle or officious thing in me, to give your Lordship any interruption under your present circumstances. Yet I could never forgive myself, if, after being treated for several years with the greatest kindness and distinction, by a person of your Lordship's virtue, I should omit making you, at this time, the humblest offers of my poor service and attendance. It is the first time I ever solicited you in my own behalf; and, if I am refused, it will be the first request you ever refused me. I do not think myself obliged to regulate my opinions by the proceedings of a House of Lords or Commons; and therefore, however they may acquit themselves in your Lordship's case, I shall take the liberty of thinking, and calling your Lordship the ablest and faithfullest minister, and truest lover of your country, that

this age hath produced. And I have already taken care, that you shall be so represented to posterity, in spite of all the rage and malice of your enemies. And this I know will not be wholly indifferent to your Lordship; who, next to a good conscience, always esteemed reputation your best possession. Your intrepid behaviour, under this prosecution, astonisheth every one but me, who know you so well, and how little it is in the power of human actions, or events, to discompose you. I have seen your Lordship labouring under greater difficulties, and exposed to greater dangers, and overcoming both by the providence of God, and your own wisdom and courage. Your life has been already attempted by private malice, it is now pursued by public resentment. Nothing else remained. You were destined to both trials; and the same power which delivered you out of the paws of the lion and the bear, will, I trust, deliver you out of the hands of the uncircumcised. I can write no more. You suffer for a good cause, for having preserved your country, and for having been the great instrument, under God, of his present Majesty's peaceable accession to the throne. This I know, and this your enemies know, and this I will take care that all the world shall know, and future ages be convinced of. God Almighty protect you, and continue to you that fortitude and magnanimity he hath endowed you with. Farewel.

J. S.

L E T T E R XXIX.

To Lord BOLINGBROKE.

MY LORD,

May, 1719.

I FORGET whether I formerly mentioned to you what I have observed in Cicero; that, in some of his letters, while he was in exile, there is a sort of melancholy pleasure which is wonderfully affecting. I believe the reason must be, that, in those circumstances of life, there is more leisure for friendship to operate,

rate, without any mixture of envy, interest, or ambition. But, I am afraid, this was chiefly when Cicero writ to his brethren in exile, or they to him; because common distress is a great promoter both of friendship and speculation. For, I doubt, prosperity and adversity are too much at variance, ever to suffer a near alliance between their owners.

Friendship, we say, is created by a resemblance of humours. You allow that adversity both taught you to think and reason much otherwise than you did; whereas, I can assure you, that those who contrived to stay at home, and keep what they had, are not changed at all; and, if they sometimes drink an absent friend's health, they have fully discharged their duty. I have been, for some time, nursing up an observation, which perhaps may be a just one: That no men are used so ill, upon a change of times, as those who acted upon a public view, without regard to themselves. I do not mean from the circumstance of saving more or less money, but because I take it, that the same grain of caution which disposeth a man to fill his coffers, will teach him how to preserve them upon all events. And I dare hold a wager that the Duke of Marlborough, in all his campaigns, was never known to lose his baggage. I am heartily glad to hear of that unconditional offer you mention; because I have been taught to believe there is little good-nature to be had from that quarter: And, if the offer were sincere, I know not why it has not succeeded, since every thing is granted that can be asked for, unless there be an exception only for generous and good-natured actions. When I think of you with relation to Sir Roger, I imagine a youth of sixteen marrying a woman of thirty for love; she decays every year, while he grows up to his prime; and, when it is too late, he wonders how he could think of so unequal a match, or what is become of the beauty he was so fond of. — I am told he outdoes himself in every quality for which we used to quarrel with him. I do not think, that leisure of life, and tranquillity of mind, which fortune and your own wisdom hath given you, could be better employed than in drawing up very exact memoirs of those affairs, wherein, to my knowledge,

knowledge, you had the most difficult and weighty part: And I have often thought, in comparing periods of time, there never was a more important one in England than that which made up the four last years of the late Queen. Neither do I think any thing could be more entertaining, or useful, than the story of it fully and exactly told, with such observations, in such a spirit, style, and method as you alone are capable of performing it. One reason why we have so few memoirs written by principal actors, is because much familiarity with great affairs makes men value them too little; yet such persons will read Tacitus and Comines with wonderful delight. Therefore I must beg two things; first, that you will not omit any passage because you think it of little moment; and, secondly, that you will write to an ignorant world, and not suppose your reader to be only of the present age, or to live within ten miles of London. There is nothing more vexes me in old historians, than when they leave me in the dark in some passages which they suppose every one to know. It is this laziness, pride, or incapacity of great men, that hath given way to the impertinents of the nation where you are, to pester us with memoirs full of trifling and romance. Let a Frenchman talk twice with a minister of state, he desires no more to furnish out a volume; and I, who am no Frenchman, despairing ever to see any thing of what you tell me, have been some time providing materials for such a work, only upon the strength of having been always amongst you, and used with more kindness and confidence, than it often happens to men of my trade and level. But I am heartily glad of so good a reason to think no further that way, although I could say many things which you will never allow yourself to write. I have already drawn your character at length in one tract, and a sketch of it in another. But I am sensible that when Cæsar describes one of his own battles, we conceive a greater idea of him from thence, than from all the praises any other writer can give him.

I read your Paraphrase with great pleasure, and the goodness of the poetry convinces me of the truth of your philosophy. I agree,

agree, that a great part of our wants is imaginary, yet there is a different proportion, even in real want, between one man and another. A King, deprived of his kingdom, would be allowed to live in real want, although he had ten thousand a year; and the case is parallel in every degree of life. When I reason thus on the case of some absent friends, it frequently takes away all the quiet of my mind. I think it indecent to be merry, or take satisfaction in any thing, while those who presided in councils, or armies, and by whom I had the honour to be beloved, are either in humble solitude, or attending, like Hannibal, in foreign courts, *donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno*. My health (a thing of no moment) is somewhat mended; but, at best, I have an ill head and an aching heart. Pray God send you soon back to your country in peace and honour, that I may once more see him *cum quo morantem sæpe diem fregi*, &c.

L E T T E R XXX.

To Lord BOLINGBROKE.

MY LORD,

December 19, 1719.

IFIRST congratulate with you upon growing rich; for I hope our friend's information is true. *Omne solum diti patria*. Euripides makes the Queen Jocasta ask her exiled son, how he got his victuals? But, who ever expected to see you a trader, or dealer in stocks? I thought to have seen you where you are, or perhaps nearer: But *diis aliter visum*. It may be with one's country as with a lady: If she be cruel and ill-natured; and will not receive us, we ought to consider that we are better without her: But, in this case, we may add, she has neither virtue, honour, nor justice. I have gotten a mezzotinto (for want of a better) of Aristippus, in my drawing-room: The motto at the top is, *Omnis Aristippum*, &c. and at the bottom, *Tantâ sedus cum gente ferire, commissum juveni*. But, since what I heard of Mississippi,

Mississippi, I am grown fonder of the former motto. You have heard that Plato followed merchandize three years, to shew he knew how to grow rich as well as to be a philosopher: And, I guess, Plato was then about forty, the period which the Italians prescribe for being wise, in order to be rich at fifty. *Senes ut in otia tuta recedant.* I have known something of courts and ministers longer than you, who knew them so many thousand times better; but I do not remember to have ever heard of or seen one great genius, who had long success in the ministry: And, recollecting a great many, in my memory and acquaintance, those who had the smoothest time were, at best, men of middling degree in understanding. But, if I were to frame a romance of a great minister's life, he should begin it as Aristippus has done; then be sent into exile, and employ his leisure in writing the memoirs of his own administration; then be recalled, invited to resume his share of power, act as far as was decent; at last, retire to the country, and be a pattern of hospitality, politeness, wisdom, and virtue. Have you not observed, that there is a lower kind of discretion and regularity, which seldom fails of raising men to the highest stations in the court, the church, and the law? It must be so: For Providence, which designed the world should be governed by many heads, made it a business within the reach of common understandings; while one great genius is hardly found among ten millions. Did you never observe one of your clerks cutting his paper with a blunt ivory knife? Did you ever know the knife to fail going the true way? Whereas, if he had used a razor, or a pen-knife, he had odds against him of spoiling a whole sheet. I have twenty times compared the motion of that ivory implement to those talents that thrive best at court. Think upon Lord Bacon, Williams, Strafford, Laud, Clarendon, Shaftesbury, the last Duke of Buckingham*; and, of my own acquaintance, the Earl of Oxford and yourself: All great geniuses in their several ways; and, if they had not been so great, would have

* Villiers Duke of Buckingham.

been

been less unfortunate. I remember but one exception, and that was Lord Sommers, whose timorous nature, joined with the trade of a common lawyer, and the consciousness of a mean extraction, had taught him the regularity of an alderman, or a gentleman-usher. But, of late years, I have even refined upon this thought: For I plainly see, that fellows of low intellectuals, when they are gotten at the head of affairs, can fall into the highest exorbitances, with much more safety, than a man of great talents can make the least step out of the way. Perhaps it is for the same reason, that men are more afraid of attacking a vicious than a mettlesome horse: But I rather think it owing to that incessant envy, wherewith the common rate of mankind pursues all superior natures to their own. And, I conceive, if it were left to the choice of an ass, he would rather be kicked by one of his own species than a better. If you will recollect that I am towards six years older than when I saw you last, and twenty years duller, you will not wonder to find me abound in empty speculations: I can now express in an hundred words what would formerly have cost me ten. I can write epigrams of fifty distichs, which might be squeezed into one. I have gone the round of all my stories three or four times with the younger people, and begin them again. I give hints how significant a person I have been, and no body believes me: I pretend to pity them, but am inwardly angry. I lay traps for people to desire I would shew them some things I have written, but cannot succeed; and wreak my spite, in condemning the taste of the people and company where I am. But it is with place, as it is with time. If I boast of having been valued three hundred miles off, it is of no more use than if I told how handsome I was when I was young. The worst of it is, that lying is of no use; for the people here will not believe one half of what is true. If I can prevail on any one to personate a hearer and admirer, you would wonder what a favourite he grows. He is sure to have the first glass out of the bottle, and the best bit I can carve. — Nothing has convinced me so much that I am of a little subaltern spirit, *in opis atque*

pufilli animi, as to reflect how I am forced into the most trifling amusements, to divert the vexation of former thoughts, and present objects. — Why cannot you lend me a shred of your mantle, or, why did you not leave a shred of it with me when you was snatched from me? — You see I speak in my trade, although it is growing fast a trade to be ashamed of.

I cannot but wish that you would make it possible for me to see a copy of the papers you are about; and I do protest it necessary that such a thing should be in some person's hands besides your own, and I scorn to say how safe they would be in mine. Neither would you dislike my censures, as far as they might relate to circumstantial. I tax you with two minutes a day, until you have read this letter, although I am sensible you have not half so much from business more useful and entertaining.

My letter which miscarried * was, I believe, much as edifying as this, only thanking and congratulating with you for the delightful verses you sent me. And I ought to have expressed my vexation, at seeing you so much better a philosopher than myself; a trade you were neither born nor bred to: But I think it is observed, that gentlemen often dance better than those who live by the art. You may thank Fortune that my paper is no longer, &c.

L E T T E R XXXI.

To the BISHOP of MEATH.

MY LORD,

June 5, 1727.

I HAVE received an account of your Lordship's refusing to admit my proxy at your visitation, with several circumstances of personal reflexions on myself, although my proxy attested my want of health; to confirm which, and to lay before you the

* He means Letter XXIX, which he hath endorsed on the back as having miscarried.

justice and Christianity of your proceeding, above a hundred persons of quality and distinction can witness, that, since Friday the 26th of May, I have been tormented with an ague, in as violent a manner as possible, which still continues, and forces me to make use of another hand in writing to you. At the same time, I must be plain to tell you, that if this accident had not happened, I should have used all endeavours to avoid your visitation, upon the public promise I made you three years ago, and the motives which occasioned it; because I was unwilling to hear any more very injurious treatment and appellations given to my brethren or myself; and, by the grace of God, I am still determined to absent myself on the like occasions, as far as I can possibly be dispensed with by any law, while your Lordship is in that diocese and I a member of it. In which resolution I could not conceive but your Lordship would be easy: Because, although my presence might possibly contribute to your real (at least future) interest, I was sure it could not to your present satisfaction.

If I had had the happiness to have been acquainted with any one clergyman in the diocese, of your Lordship's principles, I should have desired him to represent me with hopes of better success: But I wish you would sometimes think it convenient to distinguish men as well as principles, and not to look upon every person, who happens to owe you canonical obedience, as if *

I have the honour to be Ordinary over a considerable number of as eminent divines as any in this kingdom, who owe me the same obedience as I owe to your Lordship, and are equally bound to attend my visitation; yet neither I, nor any of my predecessors, to my knowledge, did ever refuse a regular proxy.

I am only sorry that you, who are of a country famed for good-nature, have found a way to unite the hasty passion of your own † countrymen, with the long, sedate resentment of

* The remainder of this paragraph he has left to the Bishop's own conjecture.

† The Bishop was a Welchman; his name Evans.

a Spaniard: But I have an honourable hope, that this proceeding has been more owing to party than complexion. I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most humble servant.

L E T T E R XXXII.

To the Earl of OXFORD.

MY LORD,

October 11th, 1722.

I OFTEN receive letters franked Oxford, but always find them written and subscribed by your Lordship's servant, Mynett. His meaning is some business of his own, wherein I am his solicitor; but he makes his court by giving me an account of the state of your family, and perpetually adds a clause, that your Lordship soon intends to write to me. I knew you indeed when you were not so great a man as you are now, I mean when you were Treasurer; but you are grown so proud since your retirement, that there is no enduring you: And you have reason, for you never acted so difficult a part of life before. In the two great scenes of power and prosecution you have excelled mankind; and, in this of retirement, you have most injuriously forgotten your friends. Poor Prior often sent me his complaints on this occasion, and I have returned him mine. I never courted your acquaintance when you governed Europe, but you courted mine; and now you neglect me, when I use all my insinuations to keep myself in your memory. I am very sensible, that, next to receiving thanks and compliments, there is nothing you more hate than writing letters: But, since I never gave you thanks, nor made you compliments, I have so much more merit than any of those thousands whom you have less obliged, by only making their fortunes, without taking them into your friendship, as you did me, whom you always countenanced

nanced in too public and particular a manner to be forgotten, either by the world or myself; for which never man was more proud or less vain.

I have now been ten years solliciting for your picture; and, if I had solicited you for a thousand pounds, (I mean of your own money, not the public) I could have prevailed in ten days. You have given me many hundred hours, can you not now give me a couple? Have my mortifications been so few, or are you so malicious to add a greater than I ever yet suffered? Did you ever refuse me any thing I asked you? And will you now begin? In my conscience, I believe, and, by the whole conduct of your life, I have reason to believe, that you are too poor to bear the expence. I ever told you that I was the richer man of the two; and I am now richer by five hundred pounds, than I was at the time when I was boasting at your table of my wealth, before Diamond Pitt.

I have hitherto taken up with a scurvy print of you, under which I have placed this lemma:

— *Veteres actus primamque juventam
Prosequar? ad sese mentem presentia ducunt.*

And this I will place under your picture, whenever you are rich enough to send it me. I will only promise, in return, that it shall never lose you the reputation of poverty; which, to one of your birth, patrimony, and employments, is one of the greatest glories of your life, and so shall be celebrated by me.

I intreat your Lordship, if your leisure and your health will permit, to let me know when I can be a month with you at Brampton-castle; because I have a great deal of business with you that relates to posterity. Mr. Mynett has, for some time, led me an uncomfortable life with his ill accounts of your health; but, God be thanked, his style is of late much altered for the better.

My hearty and constant prayers are perpetually offered up for the preservation of you and your excellent family. Pray, my
Lord,

Lord, write to me; or you never loved me, or I have done something to deserve your displeasure. My Lord and Lady Harriot, my Brother and Sister *, pretend to atone by making me fine presents; but I would have his Lordship know, that I would value two of his lines more than two of his manors, &c.

L E T T E R XXXIII.

To His Excellency the Lord CARTERET, Lord-Lieutenant
of IRELAND.

MY LORD,

April 28th, 1724.

MANY of the principal persons in this kingdom, distinguished for their loyalty to his present Majesty, hearing that I had the honour to be known to your Excellency, have for some time pressed me very earnestly, since you were declared Lord-Lieutenant of this kingdom, to represent to your Excellency the apprehensions they are under concerning Mr. Wood's patent for coining halfpence to pass in Ireland. Your Excellency knows the unanimous sentiments of the parliament here upon that matter: And, upon enquiry, you will find, that there is not one person, of any rank or party, in this whole kingdom, who does not look upon that patent as the most ruinous project that ever was contrived against any nation. Neither is it doubted, that, when your Excellency shall be thoroughly informed, your justice and compassion for an injured people will force you to employ your credit for their relief.

I have made bold to send you inclosed two small tracts on this subject, one written (as it is supposed) by the Earl of Abercorn; the other is entitled to a Weaver, and suited to the vulgar, but thought to be the work of a better hand.

I hope your Excellency will forgive an old humble servant, and one who always loved and esteemed you, for interfering

* The members of the Saturday's Club all called one another Brothers, and consequently their wives were Sisters to the several members.

in matters out of his province; which he would never have done, if many of the greatest persons here had not, by their importunity, drawn him out of his retirement, to venture giving you a little trouble, in hopes to save their country from utter destruction, for which the memory of your government will be blessed by posterity.

I hope to have the honour of seeing your Excellency here, and do promise neither to be a frequent visiter nor troublesome solicitor, but ever, with the greatest respect, &c.

L E T T E R XXXIV.

To the same.

MY LORD,

June 9th, 1724.

IT is above a month since I took the boldness of writing to your Excellency, upon a subject where the welfare of this kingdom is highly concerned.

I writ at the desire of several considerable persons here, who could not be ignorant that I had the honour of being well known to you.

I could have wished your Excellency had condescended so far, as to let one of your under-clerks have signified to me that a letter was received.

I have been long out of the world, but have not forgotten what used to pass among those I lived with, while I was in it: And I can say, that, during the experience of many years, and many changes in affairs, your Excellency, and one more, who is not worthy to be compared to you, are the only great persons that ever refused to answer a letter from me, without regard to business, party, or greatness; and, if I had not a peculiar esteem for your personal qualities, I should think myself to be acting a very inferior part in making this complaint.

I never was so humble, as to be vain upon my acquaintance with men in power, and always rather chose to avoid it when I was not called. Neither were their power or titles sufficient,

without

without merit, to make me cultivate them; of which I have witnesses enough left, after all the havock made among them by accidents of time, or by changes of persons, measures, and opinions.

I know not how your own conceptions of yourself may alter, by every new high station; but mine must continue the same, or alter for the worse.

I often told a great Minister, whom you well know, that I valued him for being the same man through all the progress of power and place. I expected the like in your Lordship; and still hope that I shall be the only person who will ever find it otherwise.

I pray God to direct your Excellency in all your good undertakings, and especially in your government of this kingdom.

I shall trouble you no more; but remain, with great respect,

MY LORD,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient, and

Most humble servant.

L E T T E R XXXV.

To the same.

MY LORD,

July 9th, 1724.

I HUMBLY claim the privilege of an inferior, to be the last writer; yet with great acknowledgments for your condescension in answering my letters. I cannot but complain of you for putting me in the wrong. I am in the circumstances of a waiting-woman, who told her lady, that nothing vexed her more than to be caught in a lie. But, what is worse, I have discovered in myself somewhat of the bully; and that, after all my rattling, you have brought me down to be as humble as the most distant attender at your levee. It is well

your

your Excellency's talents are in few hands ; for, if it were otherwise, we, who pretend to be free speakers, in quality of philosophers, should be utterly cured of our forwardness ; at least, I am afraid there will be an end of mine, with regard to your Excellency. Yet, my Lord, I am ten years older than I was when I had the honour to see you last, and consequently ten times more testy. Therefore I foretel, that you, who could so easily conquer so captious a person, and of so little consequence, will quickly subdue this whole kingdom to love and reverence you. I am, with the greatest respect,

MY LORD, &c.

L E T T E R XXXVI.

TO EDWARD Earl of OXFORD.

On his Father's Death.

MY LORD,

July, 1724.

ALTHOUGH I had, for two years past, inured myself to expect the death of my Lord your Father, from the frequent accounts of the bad condition of his health ; yet the news of it struck me so sensibly, that I had not spirit enough to condole with your Lordship, as I ought to have done, for so great a loss to the world and yourself. It is true, indeed, you no longer wanted his care and tenderness, nor his example, to incite you to virtue ; but his friendship and conversation you will ever want, because they are qualities so rare in the world, and in which he so much excelled all others. It hath pleased me, in the midst of my grief, to hear that he preserved the greatness, and calmness, and intrepidity of his mind to his last minutes : For it was fit that such a life should terminate with equal lustre to the whole progress of it.

I must now beg leave to apply to your Lordship's justice. He was often pleased to promise me his picture ; but his troubles, and sickness, and want of opportunity, and my absence,

prevented him. I do therefore humbly insist, that your Lordship will please to discharge what I almost look upon as a legacy.

I would intreat another and much greater favour of your Lordship, that, at your leisure hours, you would please to inspect among your father's papers, whether there be any memorials that may be of use towards writing his life; which I have sometimes mentioned to him, and often thought on, when I little thought to survive him. I have formerly gathered several hints, but want many memorials, especially of his more early times, which might be easily supplied. And such a work most properly belongs to me, who loved and respected him above all men, and had the honour to know him better than any other of my level did.

I humbly beg your Lordship's pardon for so long a letter upon so mournful an occasion; and expect your justice to believe, that I am, and shall ever be, with the greatest respect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

Most obliged, and

Most humble servant.

I desire to present my most humble respects to my Lady Oxford.

L E T T E R XXXVII.

To his Excellency the Lord CARTERET, Lord Lieutenant
of IRELAND.

MY LORD,

September 3d, 1724.

B E I N G ten years older than when I had the honour to see your Excellency last, by consequence, if I am subject to any ailments, they are now ten times worse, and so it happened. For I have been, this month past, so pestered with the return
of

of a noise and deafness in my ears, that I had not spirit to perform the common offices of life, much less to write to your Excellency, and least of all to answer so obliging and condescending a letter as that I received from you. But these ugly ten years have a worse consequence; that they utterly destroy any title to the good opinion you are pleased to express of me, as an amuser of the world and myself. To have preserved that talent, I ought, as I grew older, to have removed into a better climate, instead of being sunk for life in a worse. I imagine France would be proper for me now, and Italy ten years hence. However, I am not so bad as they would make me: For, since I left England, such a parcel of trash has been there fathered upon me, that nothing but the good judgment of my friends could hinder them from thinking me to be grown the greatest dunce alive.

There is a gentleman of this kingdom just gone for England; it is Doctor George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, the best preferment among us, being worth about 1100*l.* a year. He takes the Bath in his way to London; and will, of course, attend your Excellency, and be presented, I suppose, by his friend my Lord Burlington. And, because I believe you will chuse out some very idle minutes to read this letter, perhaps you may not be ill entertained with some account of the man, and his errand. He was a Fellow in the University here; and, going to England very young, about thirteen years ago, he became the founder of a sect there called the *Immaterialists*, by the force of a very curious book upon that subject. Doctor Smalldridge, and many other eminent persons were his profelytes. I sent him secretary and chaplain, to Sicily, with my Lord Peterborow; and, upon his Lordship's return, Doctor Berkeley spent above seven years in travelling over most parts of Europe, but chiefly through every corner of Italy, Sicily, and other islands. When he came back to England, he found so many friends that he was effectually recommended to the Duke of Grafton, by whom he was lately made Dean of Derry. Your Excellency will be frightened, when I tell you all this is but an introduction: For I

am now to mention his errand. He is an absolute philosopher, with regard to money, titles, and power; and, for three years past, hath been struck with a notion of founding an university at Bermudas, by a charter from the Crown. He hath seduced several of the hopefullest young clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for, and all of them in the fairest way of preferment: But, in England, his conquests are greater; and, I doubt, will spread very far this winter. He shewed me a little tract, which he designs to publish; and there your Excellency will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical, (I shall make you remember what you were) of a college founded for Indian scholars and missionaries; where he, most exorbitantly, proposeth a whole hundred pounds a year for himself, forty pounds for a fellow, and ten for a student. His heart will break if his deanry be not taken from him, and left to your Excellency's disposal. I discourage him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible, and a vision; but nothing will do. And, therefore, I do humbly entreat your Excellency, either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in this kingdom, for learning and virtue, quiet at home, or assist him, by your credit, to compass his romantic design; which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage.

I must now, in all humility, intreat one favour of you, as you are Lord Lieutenant. Mr. Proby, surgeon of the army here, laid out the greatest part of his fortune to buy a captainship for his eldest son. The young man was lately accused of discovering an inclination to Popery, while he was quartered in Galway. The report of the court-martial is transmitted to your Excellency. The universal opinion here is, that the accusation was false and malicious: And the Archbishop of Tuam, in whose diocese Galway is, upon a strict enquiry, hath declared it to be so. But all this is not to sway with your Excellency; any more than that the father is the most universally beloved of any man I ever knew in his station. But I intreat, that

you will please to hear the opinion of others, who may speak in his favour; and, perhaps, will tell you, that, as party is not in the case, so you cannot do any personal thing more acceptable to the people of Ireland, than in inclining towards lenity to Mr. Proby and his family; although I have reason to be confident, that they neither need nor desire more than justice. I beg your Excellency will remember my request to be only that you would hear others, and not think me so very weak, as to imagine I could have hopes of giving the least turn to your mind. Therefore I hope, what I have said is pardonable in every respect, but that of taking up your time.

My Lord, we are here preparing for your reception, and for a quiet session under your government; but, whether you approve the manner, I can only guess. It is by universal declarations against Wood's coin. One thing I am confident of, that your Excellency will find and leave us under dispositions very different, towards your person and high station, from what have appeared towards others.

I have no other excuse for the length of this letter, but a faithful promise that I will never be guilty of the same fault a second time. I am, &c.

L E T T E R XXXVIII.

To Mrs. P R A T T.

MADAM,

March 18th, 1724-5.

MRS. FITSMORRICE did the unkindest thing she could imagine; she sends an open note by a servant, (for she was too much a prude to write me a letter) directing me to enquire for one Howard master of a ship, who had brought over a screen to me from Mrs. Pratt. Away I ran to the custom-house, where they told me the ship was expected every day: But the God of Winds, in confederacy with Mrs. Fitsmorrice to teaze me, kept the ship at least a month longer, and left me miserable in a state of
impatience

impatience between hope and fear, worse than a lady who apprehends her cloaths will not be ready against the birth-day.

I will not move your good-nature, by representing how many restless days and nights I have passed, with what dreams my sleep hath been disturbed, when I sometimes saw the ship sinking, and my screen floating in the sea, and the mermaids struggling which of them should get it. At last Mr. Medlicott*, whose heart inclines him to pity the distressed, gave me notice of it's safe arrival. He interposed his authority; and, overruling the tedious forms of the custom-house, sent me my screen to the Deanry: Where it was immediately opened, on Tuesday the 16th instant, three minutes seven seconds after four o'clock, the day being fair but somewhat windy, the sun in Aries, and the moon within 39 hours 8 seconds and a half of being full. All which I find, by consulting Ptolemy, to be fortunate incidents, and that, with due care, my screen will escape the mops of the housemaid, and the greasy hands of the footmen.

At the opening of the screen, just after dinner, some company of both sexes were present. The ladies were full of malice, and the men of envy, while I was very affectedly calm. But all agreed, that nothing shewed a better judgment than to know how to make a proper present, and that no present could be more judiciously chosen. For no man in this kingdom wanted a screen so much as myself: And, besides, since I had left the world, it was very kind to send the world to me. As for my own part, I confess I never expected to be sheltered by the world, when I have been so long endeavouring to shelter myself from it. See how ill you bestow your favours, when you meet with nothing but complaints and reproaches, instead of acknowledgments, for thinking, in the midst of courts, upon an absent insignificant man, buried in obscurity. But I know it is as hard to give thanks as to take them: Therefore I shall say no more, than that I receive your acceptable present just as I am sure you desire I should. But I cannot promise that it will add one

* One of the commissioners of the customs.

jot to the love and esteem I have for you; because it is impossible for me to be more than I have always been,

MADAM,

Your, &c.

L E T T E R XXXIX.

To his Excellency the Lord CARTERET, Lord Lieutenant
of IRELAND.

MY LORD,

Deanry-house, April 17, 1725.

I HAVE been so long afflicted with a deafness, and at present with a giddiness in my head, (both old distempers) that I have not been able to attend your Excellency and my Lady Carteret, as my inclination and duty oblige me; and I am now hastening into the country, to try what exercise and better air will do towards my recovery. Not knowing how long I may be absent, nor how soon you may think fit to leave this kingdom, I take this occasion of returning your Excellency, and my Lady Carteret, my most humble acknowledgments for your great civilities towards me, which I wish it were in my power to deserve.

I have only one humble request to make to your Excellency, which I had in my heart ever since you were nominated Lord Lieutenant; and it is in favour of Mr. Sheridan. I beg you will take your time for bestowing on him some church-living, to the value of 150 *l. per annum*. He is agreed on all hands, to have done more public service, by many degrees, in the education of lads, than any five of his vocation; and has much more learning than usually falls to the share of those who profess teaching, being perfectly skilled in the Greek, as well as Latin tongue, and acquainted with all the antient writers, in poetry, philosophy, and history. He is a man of good sense, modesty, and virtue. His greatest fault is a wife and four children, for which there is no excuse, but that a wife is thought necessary

neceſſary to a ſchoolmaſter. His conſtitution is ſo weak, that, in a few years, he muſt give up his buſineſs; and probably muſt ſtarve, without ſome preferment, for which he is an ill ſolicitor. My Lord Biſhop of Elphin hath promiſed to recommend this requeſt to your Excellency. And I hope you will pleaſe to believe that it proceeds wholly from juſtice and humanity, for he is neither a dependent nor relation of mine.

I humbly take my leave, and remain, with the utmoſt reſpect,

MY LORD, &c.

L E T T E R XXVI.

To Mrs. HOWARD. *

MADAM,

February 1ſt, 1726-7.

I AM ſo very nice, and my workmen ſo fearful, that there is yet but one piece finiſhed of the two, which you commanded me to ſend to her Royal Highneſs. The other was done; but, the undertaker confeſſing it was not to the utmoſt perfection, hath obtained my leave for a ſecond attempt; in which he promiſes to do wonders, and tells me it will be ready in another fortnight; although, perhaps, the humour may be quite off both with the Princeſs and you: For ſuch were courts when I knew them. I deſire you will order her Royal Highneſs to go to Richmond as ſoon as ſhe can this ſummer, becauſe ſhe will have the pleaſure of my neighbourhood; for I hope to be in London by the middle of March, and I do not love you much when you are there: And I expect to find you are altered by flattery, or ill company. I am glad to tell you now, that I honour you with my eſteem; becauſe, when the Princeſs grows a crowned head, you ſhall have no more ſuch compliments; and it is a hundred to one whether you will deſerve

* Afterwards Counteſs of Suffolk.

them.

them. I do not approve of your advice to bring over pumps for myself, but will rather provide another shoe for his Royal Highness * against there shall be occasion. I will tell you an odd accident that happened this night: While I was caressing one of my Houyhnhnms, he bit my little finger so cruelly, that I am hardly able to write; and I impute the cause to some foreknowledge in him, that I was going to write to a Sieve Yahoo †, (for so you are pleased to call yourself.) Pray tell Sir Robert Walpole, that, if he does not use me better next summer than he did last, I will study revenge, and it shall be *vengeance ecclesiastique*. I hope you will get your house and wine ready, to which Mr. Gay and I are to have free access when you are at court: For, as to Mr. Pope, he is not worth considering on such occasions. I am sorry I have no complaints to make of her Royal Highness: Therefore, I think, I may let you tell her, That every grain of virtue and good sense, in one of her rank, considering the bad education among flatterers and adorers, is worth a dozen in any inferior person. Now, if what the world says be true, that she excels all other ladies at least a dozen times; then, multiply one dozen by the other, you will find the number to be one hundred and forty-four. If any one can say a civiler thing, let him, for I think it too much for me.

I have some title to be angry with you, for not commanding those who write to me to mention your remembrance. Can there be any thing more base, than to make me the first advances, and then be inconstant? It is very hard, that I must cross the sea, and ride two hundred miles, to reproach you in person; when, at the same time, I feel myself, with the most entire respect,

MADAM, &c.

* Vide Gulliver's Travels, chap. IV.

† i. e. A Court Lady. See Gulliver's Travels, Vol. I, part II. p. 178.

L E T T E R XLI.

To the ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN.*

My Lord,

May 18th, 1727.

I UNDERSTAND, by some letters just come to my hands, that, at your Grace's visitation of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, a proxy was insisted on from the Dean, the visitation adjourned, and a rule entered that a proxy be exhibited within a month. If your Grace can find, in any of your old records or of ours, that a proxy was ever demanded for a Dean of St. Patrick's, you will have some reason to insist upon it: But, as it is a thing wholly new and unheard of, let the consequences be what they will, I shall never comply with it. I take my chapter to be my proxy, if I want any: It is only through them, that you visit me, and my sub-dean is to answer for me. I am neither civilian nor canonist: Your Grace may probably be both, with the addition of a dextrous deputy. My proceeding shall be only upon one maxim: Never to yield to an oppression, to justify which no precedent can be produced. I see very well how personal all this proceeding is; and how, from the very moment of the Queen's death, your Grace hath thought fit to take every opportunity of giving me all sorts of uneasiness, without ever giving me, in my whole life, one single mark of your favour beyond common civilities. And, if it were not below a man of spirit to make complaints, I could date them from six and twenty years past. This hath something in it the more extraordinary, because, during some years, when I was thought to have credit with those in power, I employed it to the utmost for your service, with great success, where it could be most useful, against many violent enemies you then had, however unjustly; by which I got more ill-will than by any other action of my life, I mean from my friends. My Lord, I have

* Doctor William King.

lived,

lived, and by the grace of God will die, an enemy to servitude and slavery of all kinds: And I believe, at the same time, that persons of such a disposition will be the most ready to pay obedience wherever it is due. Your Grace hath often said, you would never infringe any of our liberties. I will call back nothing of what is past: I will forget, if I can, that you mentioned to me a licence to be absent. Neither my age, health, humour, or fortune, qualify me for little brangles; but I will hold to the practice delivered down by my predecessors. I thought, and have been told, that I deserved better from that church and that kingdom: I am sure I do from your Grace. And, I believe, people on this side will attest, that all my merits are not very old. It is a little hard, that, the occasion of my journey hither being partly for the advantage of that kingdom, partly on account of my health, partly on business of importance to me, and partly to see my friends; I cannot enjoy the quiet of a few months, without your Grace interposing to disturb it. But, I thank God, the civilities of those in power here, who allow themselves to be my professed adversaries, make some atonement for the unkindness of others, who have so many reasons to be my friends. I have not long to live; and, therefore, if conscience were quite out of the case for me to do a base thing, I will set no unworthy examples for my successors to follow: And, therefore, repeating it again that I shall not concern myself upon the proceeding of your Lordship, I am, &c.

L E T T E R XLII.

To the Countess of SUFFOLK.

MADAM,

Twickenam, August 15, 1727.

I WISH I were a young lord, and you were unmarried: I should make you the best husband in the world, for I am ten times deafer than ever you were in your life; and, instead of a peapain in my face, I have a good substantial giddiness and head-

(K 2)

ache.

ache. The best of it is, that, although we might lay our heads together, you could tell me no secrets: that might not be heard five rooms distant. These disorders of mine, if they hold me as long as they used to do some years ago, will last as long as my leave of absence, which I shall not renew: And then the Queen will have the misfortune not to see me, and I shall go back with the satisfaction never to have seen her since she was Queen, but when I kissed her hand. And, although she were a thousand Queens, I will not lose my privilege of never seeing her but when she commands it. I told my two landlords, that I would write you a love-letter; which, I remember, you commanded me to do last year: But I would not show it to either of them. I am the greatest courtier and flatterer you have; because I try your good sense and taste more than all of them put together, which is the greatest compliment I could put upon you: And you have hitherto behaved yourself tolerably well under it; much better than your Mistress, if what a lady told me was true: That, talking with the Queen about me, her Majesty said, I was an odd sort of man. But I forgive her; for it is an odd thing in an honest man to speak freely to princes. I will say another thing in your praise, that goodness would become you better than any person I know: And, for that very reason, there is no body I wish to be good so much as yourself. I am, &c.

L E T T E R XLIII.

To his Excellency the Lord CARTERET, Lord-Lieutenant
of IRELAND.

MY LORD,

January 18, 1727-8.

I WAS informed, that your Excellency having referred to the University here, some regulation of his Majesty's benefaction for professors; they have, in their answer, insinuated as if they thought it best, that the several professorships should be limited

to

to their fellows, and to be held only as they continue to be so. I need not inform your Excellency, how contrary such a practice is to that of all the universities in Europe. Your Excellency well knows how many learned men, of the two last ages, have been invited by princes to be professors in some art or science, for which they were renowned; and that the like rule hath been followed in Oxford and Cambridge. I hope your Excellency will shew no regard to so narrow and partial an opinion, which can only tend to mend fellowships, and spoil professorships: Although I should be sorry, that any fellow should be thought incapable on that account, when otherwise qualified. And I should be glad that any person, whose education hath been in this university, should be preferred before another upon equal deservings. But that must be left to those who shall be your Excellency's successors, who may not always be great clerks: And I wish you could, in some measure, provide against having this benefaction made a perquisite of humour or favour. Whoever is preferred to a bishoprick, or to such a preferment as shall hinder him from residing within a certain distance of this town, should be obliged to resign his professorship.

As long as you are Governor here, I shall always expect the liberty of telling you my thoughts; and I hope you will consider them, until you find I grow impertinent, or have some bias of my own.

If I had not been confined to my chamber, by the continuance of an unconvertible disorder, I would have exchanged your trouble of reading for that of hearing. I am, &c.

I desire to present my most humble respects to my Lady Carteret.

Your friend Walpole hath lately done one of the cruellest actions that ever I knew, even in a minister of state, these thirty years past; which, if the Queen hath not intelligence of, may my right hand forget it's cunning.

LETTER XLIV.

To the same. *

MY LORD,

About May 10, 1728.

I TOLD your Excellency that you were to run on my errands. My Lord Burlington hath a very fine monument of his ancestor the Earl of Cork, in my cathedral, which your Excellency hath seen. I and the chapter have written to him in a body to have it repaired, and I in person have desired he would do it. And I desired likewise, that he would settle a parcel of land, worth five pounds a year, (not an annuity) to keep it always in repair. He said he would do any thing to oblige me; but was afraid that, in future times, the five pounds a year would be misapplied, and secured by the dean and chapter to their own use. I answered, that a dean and twenty-four members of so great a chapter, who, in livings, estates, &c. had about 4000 *l.* a year amongst them, would hardly divide four shillings among them to cheat his posterity; and that we could have no view but to consult the honour of his family. I therefore command your Excellency to lay this before him, and the affront he hath put upon us, in not answering a letter written to him by the dean and chapter in a body.

The great Duke of Schomberg is buried under the altar in my cathedral. My Lady Holderness is my old acquaintance, and I writ to her about a small sum, to make a monument for her grandfather. I writ to her myself; and also, there was a letter from the dean and chapter, to desire she would order a monument to be raised for him in my cathedral. It seems Mildmay, now Lord F***, her husband, is a covetous fellow; or, whatever is the matter, we have had no answer. I desire you will tell Lord F***, that, if he will not send fifty pounds to make a monument for the old Duke, I and the chapter will erect

* This letter is not dated, but endorsed "To Lord Lieutenant Carteret before his going off."

a small one of ourselves for ten pounds; wherein it shall be expressed, That the posterity of the Duke, naming particularly Lady Holderness and Mr. Mildmay, not having the generosity to erect a monument, we have done it of ourselves. And if, for an excuse, they pretend they will send for his body, let them know it is mine; and, rather than send it, I will take up the bones, and make of it a skeleton, and put it in my registry-office, to be a memorial of their baseness to all posterity. This I expect your Excellency will tell Mr. Mildmay, or, as you now call him, Lord F***. And I expect likewise, that he will let Sir Conyers Darcy know how ill I take his neglect in this matter; although, to do him justice, he averred, that Mildmay was so avaricious a wretch, that he would let his own father be buried without a coffin, to save charges. I expect likewise, that, if you are acquainted with your successor, you will let him know how impartial I was in giving you characters of clergymen, without regard to party; and what weight you laid on them: And that, having but one clergyman who had any relation to me, I let him pass unpreferred. And, lastly, that you will let your said successor know, that you lament the having done nothing for Mr. Robert Gratton; and give him such a recommendation, that he may have something to mend his fortune.

These are the matters I leave in charge to your Excellency. And I desire that I, who have done with courts, may not be used like a courtier. For, as I was a courtier when you were a schoolboy, I know all your arts. And so God bless you, and all your family, my old friends: And remember, I expect you shall not dare to be a courtier to me. I am, &c.

L E T T E R XLV.

To Mr. POPE.

SIR,

March 6th, 1728-9.

IF I am not a good correspondent, I have bad health; and that is as good. I passed eight months in the country, with Sir Arthur and my Lady Acheson, and had at least half a dozen returns of my giddiness and deafness, which lasted me about three weeks apiece; and, among other inconveniencies, hindered me from visiting my chapter, and punishing enormities, but did not save me the charges of a visitation dinner. This disorder neither hinders my sleeping, nor much my walking, yet is the most mortifying malady I can suffer. I have been just a month in town, and have just got rid of it in a fortnight: And, when it is on me, I have neither spirits to write, or read, or think, or eat. But I drink as much as I like; which is a resource you cannot fly to when you are ill. And I like it as little as you: But I can bear a pint better than you can a spoonful. You were very kind in your care for Mr. Whalley; but I hope you remembered, that Daniel is a damnable poet, and consequently a public enemy to mankind. But I despise the Lords decree, which is a jest upon common sense: For, what did it signify to the merits of the cause, whether George the Old, or the Young, were on the throne? No: I intended to pass last winter in England, but my health said No: And I did design to live a gentleman, and, as Sancho's wife said, to go in my coach to court. I know not whether you are in earnest to come hither in spring: If not, pray God you may never be in jest. Dr. Delany shall attend you at Chester, and your apartment is ready; and I have a most excellent chaise, and about sixteen dozen of the best cyder in the world; and you shall command the town and kingdom, and *digito monstrari*, &c. And, when I cannot hear, you shall have choice of the best people we can afford, to hear you, and nurses enough; and your apartment is on the sunny side.

The

The next paragraph strikes me dumb. You say I am to blame, if I refuse the opportunity of going with my Lady Bolingbroke to Aix la Chapelle. I must tell you, that a foreign language is mortal to a deaf man. I must have good ears to catch up the words of so nimble a tongued race as the French, having been a dozen years without conversing among them. Mr. Gay is a scandal to all lusty young fellows with healthy countenance; and, I think, he is not intemperate in a physical sense. I am told he has an asthma, which is a disease I commiserate more than deafness, because it will not leave a man quiet either sleeping or waking. I hope he does not intend to print his Opera * before it is acted; for I defy all your subscriptions to amount to 800*l*. And yet, I believe, he lost as much more for want of human prudence.

I told you some time ago, that I was dwindled to a writer of libels on the Lady of the family where I lived, and upon myself; but they never went further: And my Lady Acheson made me give her up all the foul copies, and never gave the fair ones out of her hands, or suffered them to be copied. They were sometimes shewn to intimate friends, to occasion mirth, and that was all. So that I am vexed at your thinking I had any hand in what could come to your eyes. I have some confused notion of seeing a paper called Sir Ralph the Patriot, but am sure it was bad or indifferent; and, as to the Lady at Quadrille, I never heard of it. Perhaps it may be the same with a paper of verses called the Journal of a Dublin Lady, which I writ at Sir Arthur Acheson's; and leaving out what concerned the family, I sent it to be printed in a paper which Dr. Sheridan had engaged in, called the Intelligencer, of which he made but sorry work, and then dropt it. But the verses were printed by themselves, and most horridly mangled in the press, and were very mediocre in themselves; but did well enough in the manner I mentioned, of a family-jest. I do sincerely assure you, that my frequent old disorder, and the scene where I am, and the hu-

* The Second Part of the Beggar's Opera.

mour I am in, and some other reason which time hath shewn, and will shew more if I live; have lowered my small talents with a vengeance, and cooled my disposition to put them in use. I want only to be rich, for I am hard to be pleased; and, for want of riches, people grow every day less solicitous to please me. Therefore I keep humble company, who are happy to come where they can get a bottle of wine without paying for it. I give my vicar a supper, and his wife a shilling, to play with me an hour at back-gammon once a fortnight. To all people of quality, and especially of titles, I am not within; or, at least, am deaf a week or two after I am well. But, on Sunday-evenings, it costs me six bottles of wine to people whom I cannot keep out. Pray, come over in April, if it be only to convince you that I tell no lies, and the journey will be certainly for your health. Mrs. Brent, my house-keeper, famous in print for digging out the great bottle *, says she will be your nurse; and the best physicians we have shall attend you without fees: Although, I believe, you will have no occasion but to converse with one or two of them to make them proud.

Your letter came but last post, and you see my punctuality. I am unlucky at every thing I send to England. Two bottles of usquebaugh were broken. Well, my humble service to my Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Bathurst, Lord Masham, and his Lady my dear friend, and Mr. Pultney, and the Doctor, and Mr. Lewis, and our sickly friend Gay, and my Lady Bolingbroke; and very much to Patty †, who I hope will learn to love the world less, before the world leaves off to love her. I am much concerned to hear of my Lord Peterborow being ill. I am exceedingly his servant, and pray God recover his health. As for your courtier Mrs. Howard, and her Mistress, I have nothing to say, but that they have neither memory nor manners; else I should have some mark of the former from the latter, which I was promised above two years ago: But, since I made them a present, it would be mean

* See Vol. III. part ii. p. 116.

† Patty Blount.

to remind them. I am told poor Mrs. Pope is ill: Pray God preserve her to you, or raise you up as useful a friend.

This letter is an answer to Mr. Ford, whose hand I mistook for yours, having not heard from him this twelve-month. Therefore you are not to stare; and it must not be lost, for it talks to you only.

Again, forgive my blunders: For, reading the letter by candle-light, and not dreaming of a letter from Mr. Ford, I thought it must be yours, because it talks of our friends.

The letter talks of Gay, and Mr. Whalley, and Lord Bolingbroke, which made me conclude it must be yours: So all the answering part must go for nothing.

L E T T E R XLVI.

To a certain E S Q U I R E.

S I R,

January 3d, 1729-30.

SEEING your frank on the outside, and your address in the same hand, it was obvious who was the writer. And, before I opened it, a worthy friend being with me, I told him the contents of the difference between us. That, your tythes being generally worth five or six pounds *per annum*, and, by the terror of Squireship, frightening my agent to take what you graciously thought fit to give, you wronged me of half my duty every year. That, having held from your father an island worth three pence a year, which I planted and paid two shillings annually for; and being out of possession of the said island seven or eight years, there could not possibly be above four shillings due to you; for which you have thought proper to stop three or four years tythe, at your own rate of two pounds five shillings a year, (as I remember) and still continue to stop it, on pretence that the said island was not surrendered to you in form; although you have cut down more plantations of willows, and abeles, than would purchase a dozen such islands.

I told my friend, that this talent of Squires prevailed very much formerly in the country: That, as to yourself, from the badness of your education, against all my advices and endeavours, and from the cast of your nature, as well as another circumstance which I shall not mention; I expected nothing from you that became a gentleman: That I had expostulated this scurvy matter very gently with you: That I conceived this letter was an answer. That, from the prerogative of a good estate, however gotten, and the practice of lording over a few Irish wretches, and from the natural want of better thinking, I was sure your answer would be extremely rude and stupid, full of very bad language in all senses. That, a bear in a wilderness will as soon fix on a philosopher as on a cottager: And a man, wholly void of education, judgment, or distinction of persons, has no regard, in his insolence, but to the passion of fear: And, how heartily I wished, that to make you shew your humility, your quarrel had rather been with a captain of dragoons than the Dean of St. Patrick's.

All this happened before my opening your letter; which, being read, my friend told me I was an ill guesser. That you affirmed you despised me only as a clergyman by your own confession; and that you had reason, because clergymen pretend to learning, wherein you value yourself as what you are an utter stranger to.

I took some pains in providing and advising about your education; but, since you have made so ill use of my rules, I cannot deny, that according to your own principles, your usage of me is just. You are wholly out of my danger: The weapons I use will do you no hurt; and to that which would keep nicer men in awe you are insensible. A needle against a stone-wall can make no impression. Your faculty lies in making bargains: Stick to that. Leave your children a better estate than your father left you; as he left you much more than your grandfather left him. Your father and you are much wiser than I, who gave among you fifty years purchase for land, for which I am not to see one farthing. This was intended as

an encouragement to a clergyman to reside among you, whenever any of your posterity shall be able to distinguish a man from a beast. One thing I desire you will be set right in: I do not despise all squires. It is true, I despise the bulk of them. But pray take notice, that a squire must have some merit before I shall honour him with my contempt: For I do not despise a fly, a maggot, or a mite.

If you send me an answer to this, I shall not read it, but open it before company, and in their presence burn it; for no other reason but the detestation of bad spelling, no grammar, and that pertness which proceeds from ignorance and an invincible want of taste.

I have ordered a copy of this letter to be taken, with an intention to print it, as a mark of my esteem for you; which, however, perhaps I shall not pursue: For I could willingly excuse our two names from standing in the same paper, since I am confident you have as little desire of fame as I have to give it you.

I wish many happy new years to you and your family, and am, with truth,

Your friend and humble servant.

Let me add something serious: That, as it is held an imprudent thing to provoke valour; so, I confess, it was imprudent in me to provoke rudeness: Which, as it was my own standing rule never to do, except in cases where I had power to punish it, so my error proceeded from a better opinion of you than you have thought fit to make good. For, with every fault in your nature, your education, and your understanding, I never imagined you so utterly devoid of knowing some little distinction between persons.

L E T T E R XLVII.

To Lady WORSLEY.

MADAM,

April 19th, 1730.

MY Lady Carteret (if you know such a Lady) commands me to pursue my own inclination; which is, to honour myself with writing you a letter; and thereby endeavouring to preserve myself in your memory, in spite of an acquaintance of more years, than in regard to my own reputation, as a young gentleman, I care to recollect. I forgot whether I had not some reasons to be angry with your Ladyship, when I was last in England. I hope to see you very soon the youngest great-grandmother in Europe: and fifteen years hence (which I shall have nothing to do with) you will be at the amusement of "Rise up daughter," &c. You are to answer this letter, and to inform me of your health and humour; and, whether you like your daughter better or worse, after having so long conversed with the Irish world, and so little with me. Tell me what are your amusements at present; cards, court, books, visiting, or fondling (I humbly beg your Ladyship's pardon, but it is between ourselves) your grand-children? My Lady Carteret hath been the best Queen we have known in Ireland these many years; yet is she mortally hated by all the young girls, because (and it is your fault) she is handsomer than all of them together. Pray, do not insult poor Ireland on this occasion, for it would have been exactly the same thing in London. And therefore I shall advise the K—g, when I go next to England, to send no more of her sort, (if such another can be found) for fear of turning all his loyal female-subjects here against him.

How is our old friend Mrs. Barton? (I forget her new name.) I saw her three years ago, at court, almost dwindled to an echo, and hardly knew her; while your eyes dazzled me as much as when I first met them: Which, considering myself, is a greater compliment

compliment than you are aware of. I wish you may have grace to find it.

My Lady Carteret hath made me a present, which I take to be malicious, with a design to stand in your place. Therefore I would have you to provide against it by another, and something of your own work, as hers is. For you know I always expect advances and presents from Ladies. Neither was I ever deceived in this last article by any of your sex but the Q—n, whom I taxed three years ago with a present of ten pounds value. Upon taking my leave, she said she intended a medal for me, but it was not finished. I afterwards sent her, on her own commands, about five and thirty pounds worth of silk, for herself and the Princesses; but never received the medal to this day. Therefore, I will trust your sex no more. You are to present my most humble service to my old friend Sir Robert Worsley. I hope my friend Harry is well, and fattening in the sun, and continuing a batchelor to enrich the poor Worsley family.

I command you to believe me to be, with the greatest truth and respect, &c.

L E T T E R XLVIII.

To the Earl of CHESTERFIELD.

MY LORD,

November 10th, 1730.

I WAS positively advised by a friend, whose opinion hath much weight with me, and who hath a great veneration for your Lordship, to venture a letter of solicitation: And it is the first request of this kind that I ever made since the public changes, in times, persons, measures, and opinions, drove me into distance and obscurity.

There is an honest man, whose name is Launcelot; he hath been long a servant to my Lord Suffex: He married a relation of mine, a widow, with a tolerable jointure; which, depending upon a lease which the Duke of Grafton suffered to expire
about

about three years ago, sunk half her little fortune. Mr. Launcelot had many promises from the Duke of Dorset, while his Grace held that office which is now in your Lordship*, but they all failed, after the usual fate that the bulk of court-suiters must expect.

I am very sensible that I have no manner of claim to the least favour from your Lordship, whom I have hardly the honour to be known to, although you were always pleased to treat me with much humanity, and with more distinction than I could pretend to deserve. I am likewise conscious of that demerit which I have largely shared with all those who concerned themselves in a court and ministry, whose maxims and proceedings have been ever since so much exploded. But your Lordship will grant me leave to say, that, in those times, when any persons of the ejected party came to court, and were of tolerable consequence, they never failed to succeed in any reasonable request they made for a friend. And, when I sometimes added my poor solicitations, I used to quote to the then ministers a passage in the Gospel, *The poor* (meaning their own dependents) *you have always with you*, &c.

This is the strongest argument I have to entreat your Lordship's favour for Mr. Launcelot, who is a perfect honest man, and as loyal as you could wish. His wife, my near relation, hath been my favourite from her youth, and as deserving as it is possible for one of her level. It is understood, that some little employments about the Court may be often in your Lordship's disposal; and that my Lord Suffex will give Mr. Launcelot the character he deserves: And then let my petition be (to speak in my own trade) a drop in the bucket.

Remember, my Lord, that, although this letter be long, yet what particularly concerns my request is but of a few lines.

I shall not congratulate with your Lordship upon any of your present great employments, or upon the greatest that can possibly be given to you; because you are one of those very few who do

* The Earl of Chesterfield was then Lord Steward of his Majesty's household.

more honour to a Court, than you can possibly receive from it: Which I take to be a greater compliment to any Court than it is to your Lordship. I am,

MY LORD, &c.

L E T T E R XLIX.

To the Countess of SUFFOLK.

MADAM,

November 21, 1730.

I Do now pity the leisure you have to read a letter from me, and this letter shall be a history. First, therefore, I call you to witness that I did not attend on the Q—n till I had received her own repeated messages; which, of course, occasioned my being introduced to you. I never asked any thing, till, upon leaving England the first time, I desired from you a present worth a guinea, and from her Majesty one worth ten pounds, by way of a memorial. Your's I received; and the Q—n, upon my taking leave of her, made an excuse that she had intended a medal for me; which, not being ready, she would send it me the Christmas following: Yet this was never done, nor at all remembered when I went back to England the next year, and, by her commands, attended her as I had done before. I must now tell you, Madam, that I will receive no medal from her Majesty, nor any thing less than her picture at half length, drawn by Jervas; and, if he takes it from another original, the Q—n shall sit at least twice for him to touch it up. I desire you will let her Majesty know this in plain words, although I have heard that I am under her displeasure. But this is a usual thing with princes as well as ministers, upon every false representation; and so I took occasion to tell the Q—n, upon the quarrel Mr. Walpole had with our friend Gay, the first time I ever had the honour to attend her.

Against you I have but one reproach: That, when I was last in England, and just after the present King's accession, I resolved

to pass that summer in France, for which I had then a most lucky opportunity; from which those who seemed to love me well dissuaded me, by your advice: And, when I sent you a note, conjuring you to lay aside the character of a courtier and a favourite upon that occasion, your answer positively directed me not to go in that juncture; and you said the same thing to my friends, who seemed to have power of giving me hints, that I might reasonably hope for a settlement in England. Which, God knows, was no very great ambition, considering the station I should leave here, of greater dignity, and which might have easily been managed to be disposed of as the Q—n pleased. If these hints came from you, I affirm you then acted too much like a courtier. But I forgive you, and esteem you as much as ever. You had your reasons, which I shall not enquire into; because I always believed you had some virtues, besides all the accomplishments of mind and person that can adorn a lady.

I am angry with the Q—n for sacrificing my friend Gay to the mistaken piques of Sir Robert Walpole, about a libel written against him, although he were convinced at the same time of Mr. Gay's innocence, and although, as I said before, I told her Majesty the whole story. Mr. Gay deserved better treatment amongst you, upon all accounts, and particularly for his excellent unregarded Fables, dedicated to Prince William, which I hope his Royal Highness will often read for his instruction. I wish her Majesty would a little remember what I largely said to her about Ireland, when, before a witness, she gave me leave, and commanded me to tell here what she spoke to me upon that subject; and ordered me, that, if I lived to see her in her present station, to send her our grievances, promising to read my letter, and do all good offices in her power for this miserable and most loyal kingdom, now at the brink of ruin, and never so near as now. As to myself, I repeat again, that I never asked any thing more than a trifle, as a memorial of some distinction which her Majesty graciously seemed to make between me and every common clergyman: But that trifle was forgotten,

according to the usual method of princes, although I was taught to think myself upon a foot of pretending to some little exception.

As to yourself, Madam, I most heartily congratulate with you for being delivered from the toil, the envy, the slavery, and vexation of a favourite, where you could not always answer the good intentions that I hope you had. You will now be less teized with solicitations, one of the greatest evils in life. You possess an easy employment, with quiet of mind, although it be by no means equal to your merit: And, if it shall please God to establish your health, I believe and hope you are too wise to hope for more. Mr. Pope hath always been an advocate for your sincerity, and even I, in the character I gave you of yourself, allowed you as much of that virtue as could be expected in a lady, a courtier, and a favourite. Yet, I confess, I never heartily pledged your health as a toast upon any other regards than beauty, wit, good sense, and an unblemished character. For, as to friendship, truth, sincerity, and other trifles of that kind, I never concerned myself about them; because I knew them to be only parts of the lower morals, which are altogether useless at courts. I am content that you should tell the Queen all I have said of her, and in my own words, if you please.

I could have been a better prophet in the character I gave you of yourself, if it had been good manners, in the height of your credit, to put you in mind of it's mortality. For, you are not the first, by at least three ladies, whom I have known to undergo the same turn of fortune. It is allowed that ladies are often very good scaffoldings, and I need not tell you the use that scaffoldings are put to by all builders, as well political as mechanic. I should have begun this letter by telling you, that I was encouraged to write it by my best friend, and one of your great admirers; who told me, that, from something that had passed between you, he thought you would not receive it ill. After all, I know no person of your sex, for whom I have so great an esteem, as I do and believe I shall always continue to bear for you, I mean a private person; for I must except the Queen,

(M 2)

and

and it is not an exception of form: Because I have really a great veneration for her great qualities, although I have reason to complain of her conduct to me; which I could not excuse although she had fifty kingdoms to govern. I have but room to conclude with my sincere professions of being, with true respect,

MADAM,

Your most obedient

Humble servant.

L E T T E R L.

To Lady SANTRY.

MADAM,

1730. At a conjecture.

MY reason for waiting on you, some time ago, was grounded on the esteem I always had for you; which continued still the same, although I had hardly the least acquaintance with your Lord, nor was at all desirous to cultivate it, because I did not at all approve of his conduct. In two or three days after I saw you at Sir Compton Dornvile's house, all my acquaintance told me how full the town was of the visit I had made you; and of the cruel treatment you received from me, with relation to your son. I will not believe your Ladyship was so weak as to spread this complaint yourself, but I lay it wholly to those two young women who were then in the same room, I suppose as visiters. But, if you were really discontented, and thought to publish your discontent in aggravating words, I must cut off at least nine tenths of the friendship I had for you, and list you in the herd of Irish ladies, whose titles, or those of their husbands, with me never have the weight of a feather, or the value of a pebble. I imagined you had so much sense as to understand, that all I said was intended for the service both of you and your son. I have often spoken much
more.

more severely to persons of much higher quality than your son, and in a kingdom where to be a lord is of importance; and I have received hearty thanks, as well as found amendment. One thing I shall observe, upon your account; which is, Never to throw away any more advice upon any Irish lord, or his mother; because I thought you would be one of the last to deceive me.

I called four times at the house where you lodge, and you were always denied, by which, I suppose, you would have me think you are angry; whereas I am the person who ought to complain, because all I said to you proceeded from friendship, and a desire of reforming your son. But that desire is now utterly at an end.

L E T T E R II.

To the Earl of CHESTERFIELD.

MY LORD,

January 5, 1730-1.

I RETURN your Lordship my most humble thanks for the honour and favour of your letter, and desire your justice to believe, that, in writing to you a second time, I have no design of giving you a second trouble. My only end at present is to beg your pardon for a fault of ignorance. I ought to have remembered, that the arts of courts are like those of play; where, if the most expert be absent for a few months, the whole system is so changed, that he hath no more skill than a new beginner. Yet I cannot but wish, that your Lordship had pleased to forgive one, who hath been an utter stranger to public life above sixteen years. Buffy Rabutin himself, the politest person of his age, when he was recalled to court after a long banishment, appeared ridiculous there: And what could I expect from my antiquated manner, of addressing your Lordship in the prime of your life, in the height of fortune, favour, and merit;

merit; so distinguished by your active spirit, and greatness of your genius? I do here repeat to your Lordship, that I lay the fault of my misconduct entirely on a friend whom I exceedingly love and esteem, whom I dare not name, and who is as bad a courtier by nature as I am grown by want of practice. God forbid that your Lordship should continue in an employment, however great and honourable, where you only can be an ornament to the Court so long, until you have an opportunity to provide offices for a dozen low people like the poor man whom I took the liberty to mention. And God forbid, that, in one particular branch of the King's family, there should ever be such a mortality, as to take away a dozen of his meaner servants in less than a dozen years.

Give me leave, in further excuse of my weakness, to confess, that, besides some hints from my friends, your Lordship is in great measure to blame, for your obliging manner of treating me in every place where I had the honour to see you; which I acknowledge to have been a distinction that I had not the least pretence to, and consequently as little to ground upon it the request of a favour.

As I am an utter stranger to the present forms of the world, I have imagined more than once, that your Lordship's proceeding with me may be a refinement introduced by yourself: And that as, in my time, the most solemn and frequent promises of great men usually failed, against all probable appearances, so that single slight one of your Lordship, may, by your generous nature, early succeed against all visible impossibilities. I am, &c.

L E T T E R LII.

To VENTOSO.

SIR,

April 28th, 1737.

Y O U R letter hath lain by me without acknowledging it longer than I intended; not for want of civility, but because I was wholly at a loss what to say: For, as your scheme of thinking, conversing, and living, differs in every point diametrically from mine, so I think myself the most improper person in the world to converse or correspond with you. You would be glad to be thought a proud man, and yet there is not a grain of pride in you: For you are pleased that people should know you have been acquainted with persons of great names and titles, whereby you confess that you take it for an honour; which a proud man never does: And, besides, you ran the hazard of not being believed. You went abroad, and strove to engage yourself in a desperate cause, very much to the damage of your fortune, and might have been to the danger of your life, if there had not been, as it were, a combination of some, who would not give credit to the account you gave of your transactions; and of others, who, either really or pretending to believe you, having given you out as a dangerous person, (of which last notion I once hinted something to you:) Because, if what you repeated of yourself were true, it was necessary that you had either made your peace, or must have been prosecuted for high-treason. The reputation (if there be any) of having been acquainted with princes and other great persons, arises from it's being generally known to others, but never once mentioned by ourselves, if it can possibly be avoided. I say this perfectly for your service, because an universal opinion among those who know, or have heard of you, that you have always practised a direct contrary proceeding, hath done you more hurt than your natural understanding, left to itself, could ever have brought upon you. The world will never allow any man that

that character which he gives to himself, by openly professing it to those with whom he converseth. Wit, learning, valour, great acquaintance, the esteem of good men, will be known although we should endeavour to conceal them, however they may pass unrewarded: But, I doubt, our own bare assertions, upon any of those points, will very little avail, except in tempting the hearers to judge directly contrary to what we advance. Therefore, at this season of your life, I should be glad you would act after the common custom of mankind, and have done with thoughts of courts, of ladies, of lords, of politics, and all dreams of being important in the world. I am glad your country-life hath taught you Latin, of which you were altogether ignorant when I knew you first; and I am astonished how you came to recover it. Your new friend Horace will teach you many lessons agreeable to what I have said, for which I could refer to a dozen passages in a few minutes. I should be glad to see the house wholly swept of these cobwebs, and that you would take an oath never to mention a prince, or princess, a foreign or domestic lord, an intrigue of state or of love; but suit yourself to the climate and company, where your prudence will be to pass the rest of your life. It is not a farthing matter to you what is doing in Europe, more than to every alderman who reads the news in a coffee-house. If you could resolve to act thus, your understanding is good enough to qualify you for any conversation in this kingdom. Families will receive you without fear or constraint, nor watch to hear you talk in the grand style, laugh when you are gone, and tell it to all their acquaintance. It is a happiness that this quality may, by a man of sense, be as easily shaken off as it is acquired, especially when he hath no proper claim to it: For you were not bred to be a man of business; you never were called to any employments at courts; but destined to be a private gentleman, to entertain yourself with country-business and country-acquaintance; or, at best, with books of amusement in your own language. It is an uncontrolled truth, that no man ever made an ill figure who understood his own talents, nor a good one who mistook them. I am, &c.

L E T-

LETTER LIII.

A COUNTERFEIT LETTER to the Q—N.*

MADAM,

Dublin, June 22d, 1731.

I HAVE had the honour to tell your Majesty on another occasion, that provinces labour under one mighty misfortune, which is, in a great measure, the cause of all the rest; and that is, That they are for the most part far removed from the Prince's eye, and of consequence from the influence both of his wisdom and goodness. This is the case of Ireland beyond expression!

There is not one mortal here, who is not well satisfied of your Majesty's good intentions to all your people: And yet your subjects of this isle are so far from sharing the effects of your good dispositions, in any equitable degree; are so far from enjoying all the good to which they are entitled, from your Majesty's most gracious inclinations, that they often find great difficulty how to enjoy even the relief of complaint.

To omit a thousand other instances, there is one person of Irish birth, eminent for genius and merit of many kinds, *an honour to her country, and to her sex!* I will be bold to say, *not less so in her sphere than your Majesty in yours.* And yet all her talents and virtues have not yet been able to influence any one person about your Majesty, so far as to introduce her into your least notice. As I am your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subject, it is a debt I owe your Majesty to acquaint you, that Mrs. Barber, *the best female poet of this or perhaps of any age,* is now in your Majesty's capital, known to Lady Hartford, Lady Torrington, Lady Walpole, &c. A woman whose genius is honoured by every man

* Thus endorsed by Dr. Swift: "Counterfeit letter from me to the Q—n, sent to me by Mr. Pope, dated June 22d, 1731. Received July 19th, 1731. Given by the Countess of Suffolk."

of genius in this kingdom, and either *honoured* or *envied* by every man of genius in England.

Your Majesty is justly revered for those great abilities with which God hath blessed you; for your regard to learning, and your zeal for true religion: Compleat your character, by your regard to persons of genius; especially those, who make the greatness of their talents, after your Majesty's example, subservient to the good of mankind and the glory of God; which is most remarkably Mrs. Barber's case and character.

Give me leave to tell you, Madam, that every subject of understanding and virtue, throughout your dominions, is appointed by Providence of your council. And this, Madam, is an open and an honest apology for this trouble; or, to speak more properly, for this dutiful information. It is your true interest, that all your subjects should see that merit is regarded by you in one instance; or, rather, that it is not disregarded in any instance. Let them daily bless God for every gift of wisdom and goodness bestowed upon you, and pray incessantly for the long continuance of them; as doth

Your MAJESTY'S

Most dutiful, and

Loyal subject and servant,

JONATH. SWIFT.

E T T E R LIV.

To Mr. POPE. *

Dear Sir,

July 20th, 1731.

I WRIT you a long letter not many days ago, which therefore did not arrive until after your last that I received yesterday, with the inclosed from me to the Q—n. You hinted some-

* Occasioned by the preceding counterfeit letter.

thing of this in a former letter: I will tell you sincerely how the affair stands. I never was at Mrs. Barber's house in my life, except once that I chanced to pass by her shop, was desired to walk in, and went no further, nor staid three minutes. Doctor Delany hath been long her protector; and he, being many years my acquaintance, desired my good offices for her, and brought her several times to the Deanry. I knew she was poetically given, and, for a woman, had a sort of genius that way. She appeared very modest and pious, and I believe was sincere, and wholly turned to poetry. I did conceive her journey to England was on the score of her trade, being a woollen-drapier, until Doctor Delany said, she had a design of printing her poems by subscription, and desired I would befriend her: Which I did chiefly by your means. The Doctor still urging me on, upon whose request I writ to her two or three times, because she thought that my countenancing of her might be of use. Lord Carteret very much befriended her, and she seems to have made her way not ill. As for those three letters you mention supposed all to be written by me to the Q—n, on Mrs. Barber's account, especially the letter which bears my name; I can only say, that the apprehensions one may be apt to have of a friend doing a foolish thing, is an effect of kindness; and God knows who is free from playing the fool some time or other. But in such a degree, as to write to the Q—n, who hath used me ill without any cause, and to write in such a manner as the letter you sent me, and in such a style, and to have so much zeal for one almost a stranger, and to make such a description of a woman, as to prefer her before all mankind, and to instance it as one of the greatest grievances of Ireland, that her Majesty hath not encouraged Mrs. Barber, a woollen-drapier's wife declined in the world, because she hath a knack at versifying; was to suppose, or fear, a folly so transcendent, that no man could be guilty of who was not fit for Bedlam. You know the letter you sent inclosed is not my hand; and why I should disguise, and yet sign my name, should seem unaccountable: Especially when I am taught, and have reason to believe, that I am

under the Q---'s displeasure on many accounts, and one very late, for having fixed up a stone over the burying-place of the Duke of Schomberg, in my cathedral: Which, however, I was assured by a worthy person, who solicited that affair last summer with some relations of the Duke, that her Majesty, on hearing the matter, said they ought to erect a monument. Yet I am told assuredly, that the K—g, not long ago, on the representation and complaint of the Prussian Envoy (with a hard name), who hath married a grand-daughter of the Duke, said publicly in the drawing-room, That I had put up that stone out of malice, to raise a quarrel between his Majesty and the King of Prussia*. This perhaps may be false, because it is absurd: For I thought it was a Whiggish action to honour Duke Schomberg, who was so instrumental in the Revolution, and was Stadtholder of Prussia, and otherwise in the service of that electorate, which is now a kingdom. You will observe, the letter you sent me concluded, "Your Majesty's loyal subject;" which is absolutely absurd; for we are only subjects to the King, and so is her Majesty herself. I have had the happiness to be known to you above twenty years; and I appeal, whether you have known me to exceed the common indiscretions of mankind; or that, when I conceived myself to have been so very ill used by her Majesty, whom I never attended but on her own commands, I should turn solicitor to her for Mrs. Barber? If the Q—n had not an inclination to think ill of me, she knows me too well to believe in her own heart that I should be such a coxcomb. I am pushed on by that unjust suspicion to give up so much of my discretion, as to write next post to my Lady Suffolk on this occasion, and to desire she will shew what I write to the Q—n; although I have as much reason to complain of her as of her Majesty, upon the score of her pride and negligence, which make her fitter to be an Irish lady than an English one. You told me she complained that I did not write to her: When I did, upon your advice, and a letter that required an answer,

* See his Epitaph, Vol. IV. part I. p. 281.

she wanted the civility to acquit herself. I shall not be less in the favour of God, or the esteem of my friends, for either of their Majesty's hard thoughts, which they only take up from misrepresentations. The first time I saw the Q—n, I took occasion, upon the subject of Mr. Gay, to complain of that very treatment which innocent persons often receive from princes and great ministers; that they too easily receive bad impressions; and, although they are demonstrably convinced that those impressions had no grounds, yet they will never shake them off. This I said upon Sir Robert Walpole's treatment of Mr. Gay about a libel, and the Q—n fell entirely in with me, yet now falls into the same error. As to the lett * * * * *

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† of accidents, and out of perfect commiseration, &c.

L E T T E R IV.

To the Countess of SUFFOLK. *

MADAM,

July 24th, 1731.

I GIVE you joy of your new title, and of the consequences it may have, or hath had on your rising at Court, whereof I know nothing but by common fame: For you remember how I prophesied of your behaviour, when you should come to be a great lady, at the time I drew your character; and hope you have kept it. I writ to you some time ago by the advice of Mr. Pope: I writ to you civilly; but you did not answer my letter, although you were not then a Countess; and if you were, your neglect was so much the worse. For your title hath not increased your value with me, and your conduct must be very

† Here the paper is accidentally torn. There seem to be wanting eight small quarto lines, and concludes with those few words on the back of the page, which follow the asterisks.

* Occasioned by the counterfeit letter to the Queen.

good,

good, if it will not lessen you. Neither should you have heard from me now, if it were not on a particular occasion. I find from several instances that I am under the Q—n's displeasure; and, as it is usual among princes, without any manner of reason. I am told there were three letters sent to her Majesty in relation to one Mrs. Barber, who is now in London, and soliciting for a subscription to her poems. It seems the Q—n thinks that these letters were written by me; and I scorn to defend myself, even to her Majesty, grounding my scorn upon the opinion I had of her justice, her taste, and good sense; especially when the last of those letters, whereof I have just received the original from Mr. Pope, was signed with my name: And why I should disguise my hand, which you know very well, and yet write my name, is both ridiculous and unaccountable. Last post I writ my whole sentiments on the matter to Mr. Pope; who tells me, that you and he vindicated me on all the three letters; which, indeed, was but bare justice in you both, for he is my old friend, and you are in my debt on account of the esteem I had for you. I desire you would ask the Q—n, whether, since the time I had the honour to be known to her, I ever did one single action, or said one single word to disoblige her? I never asked her for any thing: And you well know, that, when I had an intention to go to France, about the time that the late K—g died, I desired your opinion, (not as you were a courtier) whether I should go or no; and that you absolutely forbid me, as a thing that would look disaffected, and for other reasons, wherein I confess I was your dupe, as well as somebody's else: And, for want of that journey, I fell sick, and was forced to return hither to my unenvied home. I hear the Q—n hath blamed me for putting a stone, with a Latin inscription, over the Duke of Schomberg's burying place in my cathedral; and that the K—g said publicly, I had done it in malice, to create a quarrel between him and the King of Prussia. But the public prints, as well as the thing itself, will vindicate me: And the hand the Duke had in the Revolution made him deserve the best monument. Neither could the King of Prussia
justly

justly take it ill, who must needs have heard that the Duke was in the service of Prussia, and Stadt-holder of it, as I have seen in his titles. The first time I saw the Q—n, I talked to her largely upon the conduct of princes and great ministers, (it was on a particular occasion) That, when they receive an ill account of any person, although they afterwards have the greatest demonstration of the falsehood, yet will they never be reconciled: And, although the Q—n fell in with me upon the hardship of such a proceeding, yet now she treats me exactly in the same manner. I have faults enough, but never was guilty of any either to her Majesty or to you; and as little to the K—g, whom I never saw, but when I had the honour to kiss his hand. I am sensible that I owe a great deal of this usage to Sir Robert Walpole; whom yet I never offended, although he was pleased to quarrel with me very unjustly: For which I shewed not the least resentment, (whatever I might have in my heart) nor was ever a partaker with those who have been battling him for some years past *. I am contented that the Q—n should see this letter; and would please to consider how severe a censure it is to believe I should write three to her, only to find fault with her ministry, and recommend Mrs. Barber; whom I never knew until she was recommended to me by a worthy friend, to help her to subscribers, which by her writings I thought she deserved. Her Majesty gave me leave, and even commanded me, above five years ago, if I lived until she was Q—n, to write to her on behalf of Ireland: For the miseries of this kingdom she appeared then to be much concerned. I desired the friend who introduced me to be a witness of her Majesty's promise. Yet that liberty I never took, although I had too many occasions; and is it not wonderful, that I should be suspected of writing to her in such a style, in a counterfeit hand, and my name subscribed, upon a perfect trifle, at the same time that I well knew myself to be very much out of

* It is true, there are but two or three passages in Swift's Works that could, in the least, offend Sir R. W. before this period; but instantly after, even in this very year 1731, he attacks him with a good deal of severity. Vide his Poems.

her Majesty's good graces? I am, perhaps, not so very much awed with Majesty as others, having known Courts more or less from my early youth. And I have more than once told the Q—n, that I did not regard her station half so much, as the good understanding I heard and found to be in her: Neither did I ever once see the late K—g, although her Majesty was pleased to chide me on that account, for my singularity. In this I am a good Whig, by thinking it sufficient to be a dutiful subject, without any personal regard for Princes, further than as their virtues deserve; and, upon that score, had a most particular respect for the Q—n, your Mistress. One who asks nothing may talk with freedom, and that is my case. I have not said half that was in my heart, but I will have done: And, remembering that you are a Countess, will borrow so much ceremony, as to remain, with great respect,

MADAM,

Your Ladyship's

Most obedient, and

Most humble servant.

L E T T E R LVI.

To Lady BETTY GERMAINE.

MADAM,

January, 1732-3.

ALTHOUGH I have but just received the honour of your Ladyship's letter, yet as things stand, I am determined, against my usual practice, to give you no respite, but to answer it immediately; because you have provoked me with your Lady Suffolk. It is six years last spring since I first went to visit my friends in England after the Queen's death. Her present Majesty heard of my arrival, and sent at least nine times to command my attendance before I would obey her, for several reasons not hard to guess; and, among others, because I had heard her

her character from those who knew her well. At last I went, and she received me very graciously. I told her the first time, that I was informed she loved to see odd persons; and that, having sent for a wild Boy from Germany, she had a curiosity to see a wild Dean from Ireland. I was not much struck with the honour of being sent for, because I knew the same distinction had been offered to others, with whom it would not give me much pride to be compared. I never went once but upon command; and Mrs. Howard, now Lady Suffolk, was usually the person who sent for me, both at Leicester-house and Richmond. Mr. Pope (with whom I lived) and Mr. Gay were then great favourites of Mrs. Howard, especially the latter, who was then one of her led-captains. He had wrote a very ingenious book of Fables, for the use of her younger son, and she often promised to provide for him. But, some time before, there came out a libel against Mr. Walpole, who was informed that it was written by Mr. Gay; and, although Mr. Walpole owned he was convinced that it was not written by Gay, yet he never would pardon him, but did him a hundred ill offices to the Princess. Walpole was at that time very civil to me, and so were all the people in power. He invited me and some of my friends to dine with him at Chelsea. After dinner I took an occasion to say, what I had observed of princes and great ministers, That, if they heard an ill thing of a private person, who expected some favour, although they were afterwards convinced that the person was innocent, yet they would never be reconciled. Mr. Walpole knew well enough that I meant Mr. Gay. I afterwards said the same thing to the Princess, with the same intention, and she confessed it a great injustice. But Mr. Walpole gave it another turn: For he said to some of his friends, and particularly to a Lord, a near relation of yours, That I had dined with him, and had been making apologies for myself: It seems for my conduct in her late Majesty's reign, in which no man was more innocent; and, particularly, more officious to do good offices to many of that party, which was then out of power, as it is well known. Mrs. Howard was then in great favour, and

openly protected Mr. Gay; at least, she saw him often, and professed herself his friend: But Mr. Walpole could hardly be persuaded to let him hold a poor little office for a second year, of commissioner to a lottery. When I took my leave of her Highness, on coming hither, she was very gracious; told me the medals she had promised me were not ready, but she would send them to me. However, by her commands, I sent her some plaids for herself and the Princesses, and was too gallant to hear of any offers of payment. Next spring, I came again to England, was received the same way; and, as I had many hints given me that the Court at Leicester-Fields would endeavour to settle me in England, (which I did not much regard) the late King died. I went by Mrs. Howard's commands, to kiss their new Majesties hands, and was particularly distinguished by the Q—n. In a few weeks, the Q—n said to Mrs. Howard, (alluding to one of Mr. Gay's Fables) that she would take up the Hare; and bade her to put her in mind, in settling the family, to find some employment for Mr. Gay: But, in the event, it proved only an offer to be a gentleman-usher to a girl of two years old, which all his friends (and I among the rest) advised him not to accept, and accordingly he excused himself with the utmost respect. This I and every body else were sure must have been a management of Mr. Walpole. As to myself, in a few weeks after the King's death, I found myself not well, and was resolved to take a step to Paris for my health, having an opportunity of doing it with some advantages and recommendations. But my friends advised me first to consult Mrs. Howard; because, as they knew less of Courts than I, they were strongly possessed that the promises made me might succeed, since a change was all I desired. I writ to her for her opinion; and particularly desired, that, since I had long done with Courts, I conjured her not to use me like a courtier, but give me her sincere advice; which she did, both in a letter and to some friends. It was by all means not to go: It would look singular, and perhaps disaffected; and, to my friends, enlarged upon the good intentions of the Court towards me. I staid; my health grew worse: I left Mr.

Pope's

Pope's house; went to a private lodging near Hammersmith: And, continuing ill, I writ to Mrs. Howard, with my duty to the Q—n, took coach for Chester, recovered in my journey, and came over hither: Where, although I have ever since lived in obscurity, yet I have the misfortune, without any ground except misinformation, to lie under her Majesty's displeasure, as I have been assured by more than two honourable persons of both sexes; and Mr. Gay is in the same condition. For these reasons, as I did always, so I do still think Mrs. Howard, now my Lady Suffolk, to be an absolute courtier. Let her shew you the character I writ of her, and whereof no one else hath a copy: And I take Mr. Pope and Mr. Gay, who judge more favourably, to be a couple of simpletons. In my answer to the last letter which my Lady Suffolk honoured me with, I did, with great civility, discharge her from ever giving herself another trouble of that kind. I have a great esteem for her good sense and taste. She would be an ornament to any Court: And I do not in the least pity her for not being a female minister, which I never looked on as an advantageous character to a great and wise lady; of which I could easily produce instances. Mr. Pope, beside his natural and acquired talents, is a gentleman of very extraordinary candour; and is, consequently, apt to be too great a believer of assurances, promises, professions, encouragements, and the like words of course. He asks nothing, and thinks, like a philosopher, that he wants nothing. Mr. Gay is, in all regards, as honest and sincere a man as ever I knew; whereof neither princes nor ministers are either able to judge or inclined to encourage: Which, however, I do not take for so high a reach of politicks as they usually suppose. For, however insignificant wit, learning, and virtue may be thought in the world, it perhaps would do government no hurt to have a little of them on it's side. If you have gone thus far in reading, you are not so wise as I thought you to be. But I will never offend again with so much length. I write only to justify myself. I know you have been always a zealous Whig, and so am I to this day: But nature hath not given you leave to be virulent. As

to myself, I am of the old Whig principles, without the modern articles and refinements.

Your Ladyship says not one syllable, to inform me whether you approve of what I sent you to be written on the monument, nor whether you would have it in Latin or English. I am ever, with true respect and high esteem,

MADAM,

Your Ladyship's, &c.

The friend I named, who I was afraid would die, is recovered; and his preferment is by turns in the Crown and the Primate, but the next vacancy will not be in the Crown's disposal.

L E T T E R LVII.

To the BISHOP of CLOGHER.*

MY LORD,

July, 1733

I HAVE been often told by some of our common acquaintance, that you have sometimes expressed your wonder that I never waited on you for some years past as I used to do for many years before; and, that you could not guess the reason, because, to your knowledge, you never once disoblige me. As nothing is more common than dropping acquaintance by the usual occurrences of life, without any fault on either side, I never intended to say or think any thing of the matter, until a late proceeding of yours, which no way relates to me, put me upon a desire of finding matter to justify you to your friends here, as well as to myself; because I always wished you well, and because I have been more than once instrumental to your service. When I first came acquainted with you, we were both private clergymen in a neighbourhood: You were afterwards Chancellor of St. Patrick's; then was chosen Dean, in which

* Dr. John Stearne.

election I was the most busy of all your solicitors. When the compromise was made between the Government and you, to make you easy, and Dr. Synge Chancellor, you absolutely and frequently promised to give me the curacy of St. Nicholas Without: But you thought fit, by concert with the Archbishop, to hold it yourself, and apply the revenue to build another church; against which it became me to say nothing, being a party concerned and injured, although it was generally thought by others, as well as myself, that it was an ill and dangerous precedent to build a church with the revenue of the minister. I desire no thanks for being instrumental in your next promotion, because, as things then stood, I consulted my own advantage. However, upon the Queen's death, when I had done for ever with Courts, I returned to reside at my post, yet with some kind of hopes of getting some credit with you; very unwisely: Because, upon the affair of St. Nicholas, I had told you frankly, That I would always respect you, but never hope for the least friendship from you. But, trying to forget all former treatment, I came like others to your house; and, since you were a bishop, have once or twice recommended persons to you, who were no relations or friends of mine, but merely for their general good character: Which availed so little, that those very persons had the greatest share of your neglect. I then gave over all thoughts of being instrumental to place merit and virtue under your protection by my recommendations; and, as I was ever averse from mingling with multitudes and strangers, I forbore by degrees to be a partaker of your hospitality, rather than purchase a share of it at so dear a rate. This is the history of my conduct with regard to your Lordship: And it is now a great comfort to me, that I acted in this manner. For, otherwise, when those two abominable bills, for enslaving and beggaring the clergy, (which took their birth from Hell) were upon the anvil, if I had found your Lordship's name among the bishops who would have turned them into a law, I might have been apt to discover such marks of indignation, horror, and despair, both in words and deportment, as would have ill become me to a person

person of your station. For, I call God to witness, that I did then, and do now, and shall for ever firmly believe, that every bishop, who gave his vote for either of these bills, did it with no other view (bating further promotion) than a premeditated design, from the spirit of ambition and love of arbitrary power, to make the whole body of the clergy, their slaves and vassals until the Day of Judgment, under the load of poverty and contempt. I have no room for more charitable thoughts, except for those who will answer now, as they must at that dreadful day, that what they did was out of perfect ignorance, want of consideration, hope of future promotion, (an argument not to be conquered) or the persuasion of cunninger brethren than themselves; when I saw a bishop, whom I had known so many years, fall into the same *snare*, which word I use in partiality to your Lordship. Upon this open avowed attempt, in almost the whole bench, to destroy the church, I resolved to have no more commerce with persons of such prodigious grandeur, who I feared, in a little time, would expect me to kiss their slipper. It is happy for me that I know the persons of very few bishops, and it is my constant rule never to look into a coach; by which I avoid the terror that such a sight would strike me with.

In the beginning of my letter, I told your Lordship of a desire to know the particulars of a late proceeding, which is in the mouths of many among your acquaintance; from some of whom I received the following account. That you have the great tythes of two livings in your diocese, which were let to some fanatic knight, whose name I forget. It seems you felt the beginning of a good motion in yourself, which was to give up those tythes to the two incumbents, (the Fanatic's lease being near out) either for a very small reserved rent, or entirely, provided you could do so without lessening the revenue of the see. And the condition was, that your tenants among them should raise the rents 150*l.* which was what the Fanatic paid you for both the said parishes. It is affirmed, that Sir Ralph Gore, one of your tenants, much approving so generous a proposal, engaged to prevail on the tenants to agree, and
offered

offered a large advancement of his own part. The matter was thus fixed, when suddenly you changed your mind, and renewed the lease to the same Fanatic for 300 *l.* fine. The reasons of this singular action are said to be two: The first is, That you declared you wanted power to resist the temptation of such a fine; the other, That you were dissuaded from it by some of your brethren, as an example very dangerous, and of ill consequence, if it should be followed by others. This last I do not in the least wonder at, because such advice is of the same leaven with the two enslaving and beggaring bills. I profess to your Lordship, that I have no other motive in desiring to be satisfied upon this point, than a resolution to justify you to the world, as far as the truth will give me power. I am, &c.

L E T T E R LVIII.

To the Duke of D O R S E T.

My LORD,

January, 1733-4.

IT hath been my great misfortune, that, since your Grace's return to this kingdom, I have not been able to attend you, as my duty and gratitude for your favours, as well as the honour of having been so many years known to you, obliged me to do. I have been pursued by two old disorders, a giddiness and deafness, which used to leave me in three or four weeks, but now have continued four months. Thus I am put under a necessity to write what I would rather have chosen to say in your Grace's presence.

On Monday last week, towards evening, there came to the Deanry one Mr. Bettsworth; who, being told by the servants that I was gone to a friend's house, went thither to enquire for me, and was admitted into the street-parlour. I left my company in the back room, and went to him. He began with asking me, whether I were author of certain verses, wherein he was reflected

reflected on*? The singularity of the man, in his countenance, manner, action, style, and tone of voice, made me call to mind that I had once seen him, about two or three years ago, at Mr. Ludlow's country house. But I could not recollect his name, and of what calling he might be I had never heard. I therefore desired to know who, and what he was; said I had heard of some such verses, but knew no more. He then signified to me, that he was a serjeant at law, and a member of parliament. After which he repeated the lines that concerned him with great emphasis; said, I was mistaken in one thing, for he assured me he was no booby, but owned himself to be a coxcomb. However, that being a point of controversy wherein I had no concern, I let it drop. As to the verses, he insisted, that, by his taste and skill in poetry, he was as sure I writ them as if he had seen them fall from my pen. But I found the chief weight of his argument lay upon two words that rhymed to his name, which he knew could come from none but me. He then told me, That, since I would not own the verses, and that since he could not get satisfaction by any course of law, he would get it by his pen, and shew the world what a man I was. When he began to grow over-warm and eloquent, I called in the gentleman of the house, from the room adjoining; and the Serjeant, going on with less turbulence, went away. He had a footman in the hall during all his talk, who was to have opened the door for one or more fellows, as he hath since reported; and, likewise, that he had a sharp knife in his pocket, ready to stab or maim me. But the Master and Mistress of the house, who knew his character, and could hear every word from the room they were in, had prepared a sufficient defence in such a case, as they afterwards told me. He hath since related to five hundred persons of all ranks, above five hundred falsehoods of this conversation, of my fears and his own brutalities, against all probability as well as fact; and some of them, as I have been assured, even in the presence of your Grace. His meanings and his movements were indeed peevish enough, but his words were

* See these verses, Vol. IV. part I. p. 182. See also Vol. VII. part I. p. 209.

not. He threatened me with nothing but his pen, yet owned he had no pretence to wit. And indeed I am heartily glad, for his own sake, that he proceeded no further; for, the least uproar would have called his nearest neighbours * first to my assistance, and next, to the manifest danger of his life. And I would not willingly have even a dog killed upon my account. Ever since he hath amused himself with declaring, in all companies, especially before bishops, and lords, and members of parliament, his resolutions for vengeance, and the several manners by which he will put it in execution.

It is only to the advice of some judicious friends that your Grace owes the trouble of this letter. For, though I may be dispirited enough by sickness and years, yet I have little reason to apprehend any danger from that man; and those who seem to have most regard for my safety, are no more apprehensive than myself, especially such as best know his character. For his very enemies, and even his ridiculers, who are, of the two, by far the greater number, allow him to be a peaceable man in all things except his words, his rhetorical action, his looks, and his hatred to the clergy; which however are all known, by abundance of experience, to be perfectly harmless; and particularly as to the clergy. I do not doubt, but, if he will be so good as to continue steadfast in his principles and practices, he may at proper junctures contribute very much to the honour and interests of that reverend body, as well as employ and improve the wit of many young gentlemen in the city, the university, and the rest of the kingdom.

What I have said to your Grace is only meant as a poor endeavour to preserve myself in your good opinion, and in the continuance of your favour. I am, with the highest respect, &c.

* Dr. Swift was then at the Reverend Mr. Worrall's house, which happened to be within three or four doors of Mr. Bettelworth's.

L E T T E R LIX.

To Miss HOADLEY.*

MADAM,

June 4th, 1734.

WHEN I lived in England, once every year I issued out an edict, commanding that all ladies of wit, sense, merit, and quality, who had an ambition to be acquainted with me, should make the first advances at their peril; which edict, you may believe, was universally obeyed. When (much against my will) I came to live in this kingdom, I published the same edict; only, the harvest here being not altogether so plentiful, I confined myself to a smaller compass. This made me often wonder how you came so long to neglect your duty; for, if you pretend ignorance, I may produce legal witnesses against you.

I have heard of a judge bribed with a pig, but it was discovered by the squeaking; and, therefore, you have been so politic as to send me a dead one, which can tell no tales. Your present of butter was made with the same design, as a known court practice, to grease my fist that I might keep silence. These are great offences, contrived on purpose to corrupt my integrity. And besides I apprehend, that, if I should wait on you to return my thanks, you will deny that the pig and butter were any advances at all on your side, and give out that I made them first; by which I may endanger the fundamental privilege that I have kept so many years in two kingdoms, at least make it a point of controversy. However, I have two ways to be revenged: First, I will let all the ladies of my acquaintance know, that you, the sole daughter and child of his Grace of Dublin, are so mean as to descend to understand housewifery, which every girl of this town, who can afford sixpence a month for a chair, would scorn to be thought to have the least know-

* Daughter of Dr. John Hoadley, Archbishop of Dublin.

ledge in: And this will give you as ill a reputation, as if you had been caught in the fact of reading a history, or handling a needle, or walking in a field at Tallough. My other revenge shall be this: When my Lord's gentleman delivered his message, after I put him some questions, he drew out a paper containing your directions, and in your hand: I said it properly belonged to me; and, when I had read it, I put it in my pocket, and am ready to swear, when lawfully called, that it is written in a fair hand, rightly spelt, and good plain sense. You now may see I have you at mercy; for, upon the least offence given, I will shew the paper to every female scrawler I meet, who will soon spread about the town, that your writing and spelling are ungenteel and unfashionable, more like a parson than a lady.

I suppose, by this time, you are willing to submit; and, therefore, I desire you may stint me to two China-bowls of butter a week; for my breakfast is that of a sickly man, rice-gruel, and I am wholly a stranger to tea and coffee, the companions of bread and butter. I received my third bowl last night, and I think my second is almost entire. I hope and believe my Lord Archbishop will teach his neighbouring tenants and farmers a little English country-management: And I lay it upon you, Madam, to bring housewifery in fashion among our ladies; that, by your example, they may no longer pride themselves on their natural or affected ignorance. I am, with the truest respect and esteem,

MADAM,

Your most obedient and

Obliged, &c.

I desire to present my most, &c. to his Grace and the Ladies.

L E T-

L E T T E R IX.

To the Duke of CHANDOIS.

MY LORD,

August 31, 1734.

ALTHOUGH I have long had the honour to be an old humble servant to your Grace, yet I do not remember to have ever written you a letter, at least since her Majesty's death. For this reason, your Grace will reasonably wonder to find a man wholly forgotten, begin a commerce by making a request. For which I can offer no other excuse, than that frequent application to me, by many worthy and learned persons of this city and kingdom; who, having heard that I was not unknown to you, seldom failed any opportunity of pressing me to solicit your Grace, of whose generous nature fame has well informed them, to make a present of those antient records, in paper or parchment, which relate to this kingdom, that were formerly collected, as we have heard, by the late Earl of Clarendon, during his government here, and are now in your Grace's possession. They can be of no use in England, and the sight of them will be of little value to foreign virtuosi; and they naturally belong to this poor kingdom. I could wish they were of great intrinsic value, so as to be sold on the Exchange for 1000 *l.* because you would then part with them at the first hint, merely to gratify your darling passion of generosity and munificence: And yet, since they are only valuable in the place of their birth, like the rest of our natives, I hope you will be prevailed on to part with them, at the humble request of many very deserving persons in this city and university. In return for which bounty, the memory of it shall be preserved in that honourable manner, which so generous a patron of learning as your Grace will certainly be pleased with. And, at their request alone, I desire your compliance, without the least mention of myself as any way instrumental.

I intreat your Grace's pardon for this interruption, and remain, with the greatest respect,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's, &c.

L E T T E R LXI.

To the Duke of DORSET.

MY LORD,

January 14th, 1734-3.

I AM assured that your Grace will have several representations of an affair relating to the university here, from some very considerable persons in this kingdom. However, I could not refuse the application made me by a very worthy person of that Society, who was commissioned by some principal members of the body to desire my good offices to your Grace; because they believed you thought me an honest man, and because I had the honour to be known to you from your early youth. The matter of their request related wholly to a dreadful apprehension they lie under, of Dr. Whitcomb's endeavour to procure a dispensation for holding his fellowship along with that church preferment bestowed on him by your Grace. The person sent to me on this message, gave me a written paper, containing the reasons why they hope your Grace will not be prevailed upon to grant such a dispensation. I presume to send you an abstract of these reasons; because I may boldly assure your Grace, that party or faction have not the least concern in the whole affair; and, as to myself, it happens that I am an entire stranger to Dr. Whitcomb.

It is alledged, that this preferment given to the Doctor consists of a very large parish, worth near six hundred pounds a year, in a very fine country thirty miles from Dublin: That it abounds very much with Papists, and consequently a most important cure, requiring the Rector's residence, besides some other assistant; which, being so rich, it might well afford.

That as to such dispensations, they find in their college-books but three or four instances since the Revolution, and these in cases very different from the present. For those few livings, which had dispensations to be held with a fellowship, were sinecures of small value, not sufficient to induce a fellow to leave his

his college; and, in the body of those dispensations, is inserted a reason for granting them, That they were such livings as could be no hindrance in the discharge of a fellow's duty.

That dispensations are very hurtful to their society, because they put a stop to the succession of fellowships, and thereby give a check to that emulation, industry, and improvement in learning, which the hopes of gaining a fellowship will best incite young students with.

That, if this dispensation should take place, it may prove a precedent for the like practice in future times; which will be very injurious to the society, by encouraging fellows to apply for dispensations, when they have interest enough to get preferments, by which the senior fellows will be settled in the college for life; and thus, for want of a succession any other way than by death or marriage, all encouragement to young diligent students will be wholly lost.

That a junior fellowship is of very small value, and to arrive at it requires good sense, as well as long and close study; to which young students are only encouraged by hopes of succeeding, in a reasonable time, to be one of the seven seniors; which hopes will be quite cut off, when those seniors are perpetuated by dispensations.

That the fellows, at their admittance into their fellowships, take a solemn oath never to accept of any church-preferment above a certain value and distance from Dublin, as long as they continue fellows: To which oath the accepting of a dispensation by Dr. Whitcomb is directly contrary, in both particulars of value and distance.

That, at this time, there is a set of very hopeful young men in long and close study, to stand for the first vacant fellowship, who will be altogether discouraged, and drop their endeavours in the pursuit of learning, by being disappointed in their hopes of Doctor Whitcomb's leaving the college, and opening a way for one of them to succeed in a fellowship.

These, my Lord, are the sum of the reasons brought me by a very worthy person, a fellow of that college, and recommended

by some of the most deserving in that body; and I have shortened them as much I could.

I shall only trouble your Grace with one or two of my own remarks upon this subject.

The university, and in some sense the whole kingdom, are full of acknowledgment for the honour your Grace hath done them, in trusting the care of one of your sons to be educated in the college of Dublin, which hopes to be always in your Grace's favour; and by your influence, while you govern here, as well as the credit you will always deserve at Court, will ever desire to be protected in their rights.

Your Grace will please to know, that a fellowship in this university differs much in some very important circumstances from most of those in either of the universities in England.

My Lord George will tell your Grace, that a fellowship here is obtained with great difficulty, by the number of candidates, the strict examination in many branches of learning, and the regularity of life and manners. It is also disposed of with much solemnity: The examiners take an oath at the altar to give their vote according to their consciences.

The university is patron of some church preferments, which are offered to the several fellows downwards to the lowest in holy orders.

I beg your Grace to consider, That, there being very little trade here, there is no encouragement for gentlemen to breed their sons to merchandize: That not many great employments, in church or law, fall to the share of persons born here: That the last resource of younger sons is to the church; where, if well befriended, they may chance to rise to some reasonable spiritual maintenance, although we do not want instances of some clergymen, well born and of good reputation, who have been, and still are curates for thirty years; which hath been a great discouragement to others, who have no other means left to provide for their children.

Your Grace will not want opportunities, while you continue in this government, and by your most deserved favour with
his

his Majesty, to make Doctor Whitcomb easier in his preferment, by some addition, that no person or society can have the least pretence to complain of. And I humbly beg your Grace, out of the high veneration I bear to your person and virtues, that you will please to let Doctor Whitcomb content himself for a while with that rich preferment, (one of the best in the kingdom) until it shall lie in your way further to promote him to his own content. If, upon his admittance to his fellowship, he took an oath never to accept a church living thus circumstantiated, and hold it with his fellowship, it will be thought hardly reconcileable to conscience to receive a dispensation.

I humbly entreat your Grace to forgive this long trouble I have given you, wherein I have no sort of interest, except that which proceeds from an earnest desire, that your Grace may continue, as you have begun from your youth, without incurring the least censure from the world, or giving the least cause of discontent to any deserving person. I am, &c.

L E T T E R LVII.

To ***** Esq;

SIR,

March 19th, 1734.

I HAD, some days ago, a very long letter from a young gentleman whom I never saw; but, by the name subscribed, I found it came from a younger son of yours, I suppose your second. He lays before me, in a very particular manner, the forlorn condition he is in; by the severities of you and your lady, his mother. He freely owns his boyish follies, when he was first brought up to town, at fourteen years old; but he appeals to Dr. Sheridan for the improvement he made in the Doctor's school; and to his tutor for his behaviour in the college, where he took his degree with particular credit, being made one of the moderators of his class; by which it appears that he passed for one of the four best scholars in it. His letter contains four

large pages in folio, and written in a very small hand; where he gives a history of his life, from the age of fourteen to the present time. It is written with so much spirit, nature, and good sense, as well as appearance of truth, that, having first razed out the writer's name, I have shewn it to several gentlemen my friends, of great worth, learning, and taste; who all agree in my opinion of the letter, and think it a pity that so hopeful a youth should not have proper encouragement, unless he hath some very disagreeable faults, whereof they and I are ignorant. When I had written thus far, Dr. Sheridan came to see me: I read your son's letter to him, and he was equally pleased with it, and justified the progress the young man had made in his school. I went this evening to visit a Lady who hath a very great esteem and friendship for you and Mrs. ***: She told me that the young man's great fault was too much pertness, and conceit of himself, which he often shewed in your house, and even among company. Which, I own, is a very bad quality in any young man, and is not easily cured: Yet, I think, if I had a son who had understanding, wit, and humour, to write such a letter, I could not find in my heart to cast him off, but try what good advice and maturer years would do towards amendment; and, in the mean time, give him no cause to complain of wanting convenient food, lodging, and raiment. He lays the whole weight of his letter to me upon the truth of the facts, and is content to stand or fall by them. If he be a liar, he is into the bargain an unpardonable fool; and his good natural, as well as acquired parts, shall be an aggravation to me to render him more odious. I hear he is turned of one and twenty years; and what he alledges seems to be true, that he is not yet put into any way of living, either by law, physic, or divinity; although, in his letter, he pretends to have studied the first, on your promise to send him to the Temple: But, your mind altering, and you rather chusing to send him to Leyden, he applied himself to study physic, and made some progress in it; but, for many months, he hath heard nothing more from you; so that now he is in utter despair, loaden with the hatred of

both his parents, and lodges in a garret in William-street, with only the liberty to dine at your house, and no further care taken of him.

Sir, although I have seldom been in your company, it is many years since I had the honour of being known to you; and I always thought, as well as heard, that you were a gentleman of great honour, truth, knowledge, modesty, good-nature, and candour. As to your Lady, I never saw her but once, and then but for a few minutes: She hath the character of being a very polite and accomplished person; and therefore, very probably, her son's rough, overweening, forward behaviour, among company with her, without that due deference which only can recommend youth, may be very disgustful to her. Your son desires me in his letter, to apply to some friends who have most credit with you, that you will please to put him into some way of life; and he wishes that those friends would be so generous to join in contributing some allowance to support him at Leyden. I think it would have been well if he had been sent to sea in the proper time, or had now a commission in the army. Yet, if he were the original writer of that letter sent to me under his name, I confess myself so very partial, as to be extremely sorry if he should not deserve and acquire the favour of you and your lady; in which case, any parents might be forgiven for being proud of such a son. I have no acquaintance with his tutor, Dr. King; but, if I can learn from those who have, I shall be glad to hear that he confirms the character of the young man's good parts and learning, as Dr. Sheridan hath done.

I intreat your pardon for this long letter, and for offering to interfere in a domestic point, where I have no information but from one side: But I can faithfully assure you, that my regard is altogether for the service and ease of you and your lady and family. I have always thought that a happy genius is seldom without some bent towards virtue, and therefore deserves some indulgence. Most of the great villains I have known (which were not a small number) have been brutes in their understandings as well as their actions.

But

But I have already run out my paper, as well as your patience. I shall therefore conclude with the sincere profession of being, with great esteem and truth,

S I R,

Your most obedient, and

Most humble servant.

L E T T E R LXIII.

To Lady BETTY GERMAINE.

MADAM,

June 8th, 1735.

I TROUBLE you sooner than usual, in acknowledging your letter of May 27th, because there are some passages in it that seem to require a quick answer. If I forget the date of mine, you must impute it to my ill head; and, if I live two years longer, I shall first forget my own name, and last your Ladyship's. I gave my Lady Kerry an account of what you said in relation to her son, with which she is fully satisfied. I detest the House of Lords for their indulgence to such a profligate prostitute villain as Curle; but am at a loss how he could procure any letters written to Mr. Pope, although, by the vanity or indiscretion of correspondents, the rogue might have pickt up some that went from him. Those letters have not yet been sent hither, therefore I can form no judgment on them. When I was leaving England, upon the Queen's death, I burnt all the letters I could find, that I had received from ministers for several years before. But, as to the letters I receive from your Ladyship, I neither ever did or ever will burn any of them, take it as you please: For I never burn a letter that is entertaining, and consequently will give me new pleasure when it is forgotten. It is true, I have kept some letters merely out of friendship, although they sometimes wanted true spelling and good sense, and some others whose writers are dead. For I live like a monk, and hate to

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forget

forget my departed friends. Yet I am sometimes too nice; for I burnt all my Lord ***** letters, upon receiving one where he used these words to me, *All I pretend to is a great deal of sincerity*: Which, indeed, was the chief virtue he wanted. Of those from my Lord ***** I burnt all but one, which I keep as a most admirable original of Court promises and professions. I confess also that I have read some passages in many of your letters, to a friend, but without naming you, only that the writer was a lady, which had such marks of good sense, that often the hearers would not believe me. And yet I never had a letter of mine printed, nor of any others to me.

Your Ladyship very much surprises me with one passage in your letter, which however I do not in the least understand; where you say, *You have been honoured in print by amorous, satirical, and gallant letters, where there was no word but your bare name mentioned*. I can assure you, this is to me altogether a riddle, and what I never heard the least syllable of; and wish you would explain it. No, Madam, I will never forgive your insolent niece, without a most humble submission under her own hands; which if she will not comply with, I shall draw up letters between us, and send them to Curle.

I will tell your Ladyship a cause I have of complaint against the Duke of Dorset. I have written to him about four times since he was Lieutenant, and three of my letters were upon subjects that concerned him much more than it did any friend of mine, and not at all myself; but he was never pleased to return me an answer. Which omission (for I disdain to call it contempt) I can account for only by some of the following reasons. He is either extremely busy in affairs of the highest importance; or he is a Duke with a garter; or he is a Lieutenant of Ireland; or he is of a very antient noble extraction; or so obscure a man as I am is not worth his remembrance; or, like the Duke of Chandois, he is an utter stranger to me: And it would grieve me to the soul to put them together upon any one article. The last letter I writ to his Grace was upon an affair relating to one of the favourite party, and yet a very honest gentleman; which

last

last circumstance, with submission to your Ladyship, is what I seldom grant; and the matter desired was a trifle. The letter before that related to a request made him by a senior fellow of this university, upon which I was earnestly pressed to write by some considerable members of the same body, which it highly concerned, as well as his Grace's honour; the demand being directly contrary to their statutes, and of the most pernicious consequence, not only to the university, but the kingdom: And for that reason, it is thought, his Grace hath chosen to let it fall, I suppose by much better causes of conviction than mine. I do assure you, Madam, that I have not been troublesome to my Lord Duke in any particular: Since he hath been Governor, my letters have been at most but one a year, and my personal requests not so many; nor any one of them for the least interest that regarded myself. And although it be true that I do not much approve the conduct of affairs in either kingdom, wherein I agree with vast numbers of both parties; yet I have utterly waved intermeddling even in this enslaved kingdom, where perhaps I might have some influence to be troublesome; yet I have long quitted all such thoughts, out of perfect despair: Although I have sometimes wished, that the true loyal Whigs here might be a little more considered in the disposition of employments, notwithstanding their misfortune of being born on this side the channel; which would gain abundance of hearts both to the Crown and his Grace. My paper is so full, that I have not room to excuse it's length. I remain

Your Ladyship's

Most obedient humble servant.

LETTER LXIV.

To Sir CHARLES WOGAN, in SPAIN. *

HONOURED SIR,

1735.

I THINK you are the only person alive who can justly charge me with ingratitude: Because, although I were utterly unknown to you, and become an obscure exile in a most obscure and enslaved country; you were at the pains to find me out, and send me your very agreeable writings, with which I have often entertained some very ingenious friends, as well as myself; I mean not only your poetry, in Latin and English, but your poetical history in prose of your own life and actions, inscribed to me; which I often wished it were safe to print here, or in England, under the madness of universal party now reigning: I mean particularly in this kingdom, to which I would prefer living among the Hottentots, if it were in my power †.

I have been often told, that you have a brother ‡ and some near relations in this country, and have oftener employed my friends in vain to learn when any of them came to this town. But, I suppose, on account of their religion, they are so prudent to live in privacy: Although the Court hath thought it better in point of politics, and, to keep the good-will of Cardinal Fleury, hath thought it proper, to make the Catholics here much more easy than their illwillers, of no religion, approve of in their hearts. And I can assure you, that those wretches here, who call themselves a Parliament, abhor the clergy of our church more than those of yours, and have made an universal association to defraud us of our undoubted dues.

I have further thanks to give you for your generous present of excellent Spanish wine, whereof I have been so choice, that

* See a Character of this Gentleman, Vol. VII. part II. p. 109.

† These writings are at present in the hands of the editor of these volumes, all of them under Sir Charles Wogan's own hand.

‡ Mr. Wogan of Rathcoffe.

my

my butler tells me there are still some bottles left*. I did very often ask some merchants here, who trade with Spain, whether this country could not afford something that might be acceptable in Spain, but could not get any satisfaction. The price, I am sure, would be but a trifle. And I am told by one of them, that he heard you were informed of my desire: To which you answered in a disinterested manner, That you only desired my works. It is true indeed that a printer † here, about a year ago, did collect all that was printed in London which passed for mine, as well as several single papers in verse and prose, that he could get from my friends, and desired my leave to publish them in four volumes. He reasoned, That printers here had no property in their copies: That mine would fall into worse hands: That he would submit to me and my friends what to publish or omit. On the whole, I would not concern myself; and so they have appeared abroad, as you will see them in those I make bold to send you. I must now return to mention wine. The last season for it was very bad in France, upon which our merchants have raised the price twenty *per cent.* already, and the present weather is not like to mend it. Upon this I have told some merchants my opinion, or perhaps my fancy: That, when the warmth of summer happens to fail in the several wine-countries, Spain and Portugal wines, and those in the South of Italy, will be at least as ripe as those of France in a good year. If there be any truth in this conceit, I would desire our merchants to deal this year in those warmer climates: Because I hear that in Spain French vines are often planted, and the wine is more mellow; although, perhaps, the natural Spanish grape may fail for want of its usual share of sun. In this point I would have your opinion; wherein if you agree, I will make Mr. Hall, an honest Catholic merchant here, who deals in Spanish wine, bring me over as large a cargo as I can afford, of wines as like French claret as he can

* Dr. Swift, in grateful remembrance of Sir Charles Wogan, used to call this Spanish wine his Hero wine.

† Mr. Faulkner.

get. For my disorders, with the help of years, make wine absolutely necessary to support me. And, if you were not a person of too considerable a rank, (and now become half a Spaniard) I would try to make you descend so low, as to order some merchants there to consign to some of ours, directed to me, some good quantity of wine that you approve of; such as our claret-drinkers here will be content with. For, when I give them a pale wine, (called by Mr. Hall *Cassalia*) they say it will do for one glass, and then (to speak in their language) call for Honest Claret.

L E T T E R LXV.

TO BISHOP HORTE.*

MY LORD,

May 12th, 1736.

I HAVE two or three times begun a letter to your Lordship, and as often laid it aside; until, by the unasked advice of some friends of yours, and of all my own, I resolved at last to tell you my thoughts upon the affair of the poor printer, who suffered so much upon your Lordship's account, confined to a dungeon among common thieves, and others with infectious diseases, to the hazard of his life; besides the expence of above twenty-five pounds, and besides the ignominy to be sent to Newgate like a common malefactor.

His misfortunes do also very highly and personally concern me. For, your Lordship declaring your desire to have that Paper looked for, he did at my request search his shop, and unfortunately found it: And, although he had absolutely refused before to print it, because my name as the author was fixed to it; which was very legible, notwithstanding there was a scratch through the words; yet, at my desire, he ventured to print it. Neither did Faulkner ever name you as the author, although you sent the paper by a clergyman, one of your dependents: But your

* Dr. Josiah Horte, Bishop of Kilmore.

friends

friends were the only persons who gave out the report of it's having been your performance. I read your Lordship's letter written to the printer, wherein you argue that he is, in these dealings, the adventurer, and must run the hazard of gain or loss. Indeed, my Lord, the case is otherwise. He sells such papers to the running boys for farthings apiece, and is a gainer by each, less than half a farthing; and it is seldom he sells above a hundred, unless they be of such as only spread by giving offence, and consequently endanger the printer both in loss of money and liberty, as it was the case of that very paper: Which, although it be written with spirit and humour, yet, if it had not affected Bettsworth, would scarce have cleared above a shilling to Faulkner; neither would he have done it at all, but at my urgency, which was the effect of your Lordship's commands to me. But, as your Lordship hath since been universally known for the author, although never named by Faulkner or me, so it is as generally known that you never gave him the least consideration for his losses, disgraces, and dangers of his life. I have heard this, and more, from every person of my acquaintance, whom I see at home or abroad: And particularly from one person too high to name, who told me all the particulars; and I heartily wished, upon your account, that I could have assured him that the poor man had received the least mark of your justice, or, if you please to call it so, your generosity, which I would gladly inform that great person of before he leaves us.

Now, my Lord, as God, assisting your own good management of a very ample fortune, hath made you extremely rich, I may venture to say, that the printer hath a demand, in all conscience, justice, and honour, to be fully refunded, both for his disgraces, his losses, and the apparent danger of his life; and that my opinion ought to be of some weight, because I was an innocent instrument, drawn in by your Lordship, against Faulkner's will, to be an occasion of his sufferings: And, if you shall please to recompence him in the manner that all people hope or desire, it will be no more in your purse than a drop in the bucket. And,

as soon as I shall be informed of it, I shall immediately write to that very great person, in such a manner as will be most to the advantage of your character: For which, I am sure, he will rejoice, and so will all your friends; or, if you have any enemies, they will be put to silence.

Your Lordship hath too good an understanding to imagine, that my principal regard in this affair is not to your reputation, although it be likewise mingled with pity to the innocent sufferer. And I hope you will consider, that this case is not among those, where it is a mark of magnanimity to despise the censure of the world: Because all good men will differ from you, and impute your conduct only to a sparing temper, upon an occasion where common justice and humanity required a direct contrary proceeding.

I conclude with assuring your Lordship again, that what I have written was chiefly for your Lordship's credit and service: Because I am, with great truth,

Your Lordship's most, &c.

L E T T E R LXVI.

To Lady BETTY GERMAINE.

MADAM,

June 15th, 1736.

I WRITE this letter to your Ladyship, in the employment you have chosen of being a go-between the Duke of Dorset and me. I must preface this letter with an honest declaration, That I never proposed any one thing to his Grace wherein I did not chiefly consult his honour and the general opinion of the kingdom. I had the honour to know him from a boy, as I did your Ladyship from a child; and yet, excepting great personal civilities, I never was able to obtain the favour of getting one church preferment for any friend, except one too inconsiderable to mention. I writ to, and told my Lord Duke, that there was a certain family here, called the Grattans, and that they

they could command ten thousand men: Two of them are parsons, (as you Whigs call them) another is Lord Mayor of this city, and was knighted by his Grace a month or two ago. But there is another cousin of theirs, who is a Grattan, though his name be John Jackson, as worthy a clergyman as any in this kingdom. He lives upon his own small estate, four miles from this town, and in his own parish: But he hath four children. He only wants some little addition of 100 *l.* a-year: For he hath laid out 800*l.* to build upon his own small estate in his own parish, which he cannot leave, and we cannot spare him. He hath lain a weight upon my shoulders for many years; and I have often mentioned him to my Lord Duke as a most deserving person. His Grace hath now an opportunity to help him: One Mr. Ward, who died this morning, had a deanry of small value: It was a hedge-deanry; (my Lord Duke will tell you what I mean) we have many of them in Ireland: But, as it doth not require living there, except a month or two in the year, although it be but of forty or fifty pounds yearly rent, it will be a great ease to him. He is no party-man, but a loyal subject. It is the deanry of Cloyne: He is well acquainted with the Bishop, who is Dr. Berkeley. I have reasons enough to complain of my Lord Duke, who absolutely refused to provide for a most worthy man whom he had made one of his chaplains before he came over: And therefore, if he will not consent to give this poor deanry to Mr. John Jackson, I will fall out with him for ever. I desire your Ladyship to let the Duke know all this.

Somebody read a part of a news-paper to me the other day, wherein your saucy niece is mentioned as married, with forty-five thousand pounds to her fortune. I desire to present her with my most humble service, and that we may be friends for the future. I hope your Ladyship still preserves your health and good humour. Your virtues I am in no pain about, for you are confirmed in them by your education and birth, as well as by constant practice. I pray God preserve you long,

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for

for the good you do to the world, and for your happiness hereafter.

I will (notwithstanding your commands to the contrary) be so bold to tell you, that I am, with the greatest respect and esteem,

MADAM, your Ladyship's

Most obedient, and

Obliged humble servant.

L E T T E R LXVII.

TO MR. ALDERMAN BARBER.

DEAR MR. ALDERMAN,

March 30, 1737.

YOU will read the character of the bearer, Mr. Loyd, which he will deliver to you, signed by the magistrates and chief inhabitants of Coleraine. It seems your society hath raised the rents in that town, and of your lands about it, within three years past, to four times the value of what the tenants formerly paid; which is beyond what I have ever heard, even among the most screwing landlords of this kingdom: And the consequence hath already been, that many of your tenants in that town and the lands about it, are preparing to the plantations of America, for the same reasons that are driving some thousands of families in the North to the same plantations, I mean the oppression of landlords. My dear friend, you are to consider, That no society can or ought, in prudence or justice, let their lands at so high a rate as a squire, who lives upon his estate, and is able to distrain at an hour's warning. All bodies corporate must give easy bargains, so as to be ready to pay all the incident charges to which they are subject. Thus bishops, deans, and chapters, as well as other corporations, seldom or never let their lands even so high as half the value; and when they raise those rents which are unreasonably low, it is by degrees.

degrees. I have instances of this conduct in my own practice, as well as that of my chapter, although my own lands, as Dean, are let four fifths under their value. On the other side, there is no reason why an honourable society should rent their estate for a trifle. And therefore I told Mr. Loyd my opinion: That if you could be prevailed on just to double the rent and no more, I hoped the tenants might be able to live in a tolerable manner. For I am as much convinced as I can be of any thing human, that this wretched oppressed country must necessarily decline for ever. If, by a miracle, things should mend, you may, in a future renewal, make a moderate increase of rent; but not by such leaps as you are now taking: For you ought to remember the fable of the Hen who laid every second day a golden egg, upon which her mistress killed her to get the whole lump together. I am told that one condition in your charter is, to plant a colony of English in those parts. If that be so, you are too wise to let it be a colony of Irish beggars. I would not have said thus much in an affair, and about persons to whom I am a stranger, if I had not been long assured of the poor condition those people in and about Coleraine have lain under since that enormous raising of their rents. The bearer, whom I never saw until yesterday, seems to be a gentleman of truth and good sense. Yet, if he hath misrepresented this matter to me, I shall never be his advocate again.

My health is very indifferent: spirits I have none left. I decline every day. I hope and hear it is better with you. May you live as long as you desire: For I have lost so many friends without getting any new, that I must keep you as a sample of the former. I am, my dear friend,

Your's, &c.

L E T T E R LXVIII.

To the Earl of OXFORD.

MY LORD,

June 14, 1737.

I HAD the honour of a letter from your Lordship, dated April the 7th, which I was not prepared to answer until this time. Your Lordship must needs have known, that the History you mention of the four last years of the Queen's reign, was written at Windsor, just upon finishing the peace; at which time your father and my Lord Bolingbroke had a misunderstanding with each other, that was attended with very bad consequences. When I came to Ireland to take this deanry, (after the peace was made) I could not stay here above a fortnight, being recalled by an hundred letters to hasten back, and to use my endeavours in reconciling those ministers. I left them the History you mention, which I had finished at Windsor, to the time of the peace. When I returned to England, I found their quarrels and coldness encreased. I laboured to reconcile them as much as I was able: I contrived to bring them to my Lord Masham's, at St. James's: My Lord and Lady Masham left us together. I expostulated with them both, but could not find any good consequences. I was to go to Windsor next day with my Lord Treasurer: I pretended business that prevented me; expecting they would come to some * * * * *. But I followed them to Windsor; where my Lord Bolingbroke told me, that my scheme had come to nothing. Things went on at the same rate: They grew more estranged every day. My Lord Treasurer found his credit daily declining. In May before the Queen died, I had my last meeting with them at my Lord Masham's. He left us together, and therefore I spoke very freely to them both; and told them I would retire, for I found all was gone: Lord Bolingbroke whispered me, I was in the right; your father said, all would do well. I told him that I would go to Oxford on Monday,

† Here is a blank left for some word or other; such as *agreement*, *reconciliation*, or the like.

since

since I found it was impossible to be of any use. I took coach to Oxford on Monday; went to a friend in Berkshire; there staid until the Queen's death: And then to my station here; where I staid twelve years, and never saw my Lord your father afterwards. They could not agree about printing the History of the four last years: And therefore I have kept it to this time, when I determine to publish it in London, to the confusion of all those rascals who have accused the Queen and that ministry of making a bad peace; to which that party entirely owes the Protestant succession. I was then in the greatest trust and confidence with your father the Lord Treasurer, as well as with my Lord Bolingbroke, and all others who had part in the administration. I had all the letters from the secretary's office, during the treaty of peace: Out of those and what I learned from the ministry, I formed that history which I am now going to publish for the information of posterity, and to controll the most impudent falsehoods which have been published since. I wanted no kind of materials. I knew your father better than you could at that time; and I do impartially think him the most virtuous minister, and the most able that ever I remember to have read of. If your Lordship has any particular circumstances that may fortify what I have said in the History, such as letters or other materials, I am content they should be printed at the end, by way of appendix. I loved my Lord your father better than any other man in the world, although I had no obligation to him on the score of preferment, having been driven to this wretched kingdom, to which I was almost a stranger, by his want of power to keep me in what I ought to call my own country; although I happened to be dropt here, and was a year old before I left it: and to my sorrow, did not die before I came back to it again. I am extremely glad of the felicity you have in your alliances, and desire to present my most humble respects to my Lady Oxford, and your daughter the Duchess *. As to the History, it is only of affairs which I know very well; and had

* Duchess of Portland.

all the advantages possible to know, when you were in some sort but a lad. One great design of it, is to do justice to the ministry at that time, and to refute all the objections against them, as if they had a design of bringing in Popery and the Pretender; and further to demonstrate, that the present settlement of the crown was chiefly owing to my Lord your father. I can never expect to see England: I am now too old and too sickly, added to almost a perpetual deafness, and giddiness. I live a most domestic life: I want nothing that is necessary; but I am in a cursed, factious, oppressed, miserable country; not made so by nature, but by the slavish, hellish principles of an execrable prevailing faction in it. Farewell, my Lord. I have tired you and myself. I desire again to present my most humble respects to my Lady Oxford, and the Duchess your daughter. Pray God preserve you long and happy. I shall diligently enquire into your conduct from those who will tell me. You have hitherto continued right; let me hear that you persevere so. Your task will not be long; for I am not in a condition of health or time to trouble this world, and I am heartily weary of it already; and so should be in England, which I hear is full as corrupt as this poor enslaved country. I am, with the truest love and respect,

MY LORD, Your Lordship's

Most obedient and obliged, &c.

L E T T E R LXIX.

TO ERASMUS LEWIS, Esq; *

DEAR FRIEND,

July 23, 1737.

WHILE any of those who used to write to me were alive, I always inquired after you. But, since your secretaryship in the Queen's time, I believed you were so glutted with the

* Formerly private secretary to the Earl of Oxford.

office,

office, that you had not patience to venture on a letter to an absent useless acquaintance: And I find I owe yours to my Lord Oxford. The History you mention was written above a year before the Queen's death. I left it with the Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, when I first came over to take this deanry. I returned in less than a month, but the ministry could not agree about the printing it: It was to conclude with the peace. I staid in London above nine months; but, not being able to reconcile the quarrels between those two, I went to a friend in Berkshire, and, on the Queen's death, came hither for good and all. I am confident you read that History, as this Lord Oxford did, as he owns in his two letters, the last of which reached me not above ten days ago. You know, on the Queen's death, how the peace and all proceedings were universally condemned. This I knew would be done; and the chief cause of my writing was, not to let such a Queen and ministry lie under such a load of infamy, or posterity be so ill informed, &c. Lord Oxford is in the wrong to be in pain about his father's character, or his proceedings in his ministry; which is so drawn, that his greatest admirers will rather censure me for partiality; neither can he tell me any thing material out of his papers, which I was not then informed of. Nor do I know any body but yourself who could give me more light than what I then received: For I remember I often consulted with you, and took memorials of many important particulars which you told me, as I did of others, for four years together. I can find no way to have the original delivered to Lord Oxford or to you; for the person who hath it will not trust it out of his hands; but, I believe, would be contented to let it be read to either of you, if it could be done without letting it out of his hands, although perhaps that may be too late *. If my health would

* As, a little before this period, the great abilities of Dr. Swift had begun to fail, he had, in order to gratify some of his acquaintance, called for the History of the four last years of the Queen's reign once or twice out of his friend's hands, and lent it abroad; by which means part of the contents of it were whispered about the town, and several had

would have permitted me, for some years past, to have ventured as far as London, I would have satisfied both my Lord and you. I believe you know that Lord Bolingbroke is now busy in France, to write the history of his own time, and how much he grew to hate the Treasurer you know too well; and I know how much Lord Bolingbroke hates his very memory. This is what the present Lord Oxford should be in most pain at, not about me. I have had my share of affliction sufficient, in the loss of Dr. Arbuthnot, and poor Gay and others; and I heartily pity poor Lord Masham. I would fain know whether his son be a valuable young man; because I much disliked his education. When I was last among you, Sir William Wyndham was in a bad state of health: I always loved him, and rejoice to hear from you the figure he makes. But I know so little of what passeth, that I never heard of Lady Blandford, his present wife.

Lord Bath used to write to me, but hath dropped it some years. Pray, is Charles Ford yet alive? For he hath dropped me too; or perhaps my illness hath hindered me from provoking his remembrance: For I have been long in a very bad condition. My deafness, which used to be occasional, and for a short time, hath stuck by me now several months without remission; so that I am unfit for any conversation, except one or two Stentors of either sex, and my old giddiness is likewise become chronical; although not in equal violence with my former short fits.

pretended to have read it, who perhaps had never seen one line of it. And this caused it to be apprehended, that, if the Dean should frequently lend the History, a copy of it might be taken some time or other. Whereupon Mrs. Whiteway, the next time the Dean put the original into her hands, told him plainly, That, if she ever again should take the charge of that manuscript, he should never lend it again to any man alive; and that if he should; at any time hereafter, call for it again, and insist upon having it in his own possession, she would never take the charge of it more: And, accordingly, she took it upon these conditions, and has faithfully kept it from that day to this; the history which is now abroad having been printed from a spurious manuscript, taken, as it is supposed, from a copy of the original which had been sent to England, by the late Earl of Corke and Orrery, for the Dean's friends to peruse. Mr. Nugent, the present representative in parliament for the city of Bristol, who read the original in Mrs. Whiteway's parlour in the year 1739, can, if he please, vouch the authenticity of this fact, as he could not have the pleasure of reading that History (which the Dean was desirous enough to lend him) at his own lodgings.

I was never so much deceived in any Scot, as by that execrable Lord K****, whom I loved extremely, and now detest beyond expression.

You say so little of yourself, that I know not whether you are in health or sicklynefs, only that you lead a mere animal life; which, with nine parts in ten, is a sign of health. I find you have not, like me, lost your memory; nor I hope your sense of hearing, which is the greatest loss of any, and more comfortless than even being blind; I mean in the article of company. Writing no longer amuseth me, for I cannot think. I dine constantly at home, in my chamber, with a grave housekeeper, whom I call *Sir Robert*, and sometimes receive one or two friends and a female cousin, with strong high tenor voices. I am, &c.

L E T T E R LXX.

To Miss RICHARDSON.

MADAM,

January 28, 1737-8.

I MUST begin my correspondence by letting you know that your uncle is the most unreasonable person I was ever acquainted with; and, next to him, you are the second, although I think impartially that you are worse than he. I never had the honour and happiness of seeing you, nor can ever expect it, unless you make the first advance by coming up to town, where I am confined by want of health; and my travelling days are over. I find you follow your uncle's steps, by maliciously bribing a useless man, who can never have it in his power to serve or divert you. I have indeed continued a very long friendship with Alderman Barber, who is governour of the London-society about your parts; whereupon Mr. Richardson came to the Deanry, although it was not in my power to do him the least good office further than writing to the Alderman. However, your uncle came to me several times; and I believe, after several invitations, dined with me once or twice. This

(S 2)

was

was all the provocation I ever gave him; but he had revenge in his breast, and you shall hear how he gratified it. First, he was told that my ill stomach, and a giddiness I was subject to, forced me, in some of those fits, to take a spoonful of usquebagh: He discovered where I bought it, and sent me a dozen bottles, which cost him three pounds. He next was told, that, as I never drank malt-liquors, so I was not able to drink Dublin-claret without mixing it with a little sweet Spanish wine: He found out the merchant with whom I deal by the treachery of my butler, and sent to me twelve dozen pints of that wine, for which he paid six pounds. But what can I say of a man, who, some years before I ever saw him, was loading me every season with salmons, that surfeited myself and all my visitors? Whereby it is plain, that his malice reached to my friends as well as to myself. At last, to complete his ill designs, he must needs force his niece into the plot; because, it can be proved, that you are his prime minister, and so ready to encourage him in his bad proceedings; that you have been his partaker and seconder in mischief, by sending me half a dozen of shirts, although I never once gave you the least cause of displeasure. And, what is yet worse, the few ladies that come to the Deanry assure me, they never saw so fine linen, or better worked up, or more exactly fitted. It is a happiness they were not stockings, for then you would have known the length of my foot. Upon the whole, Madam, I must deal so plain, as to repeat, that you are more cruel even than your uncle; to such a degree, that if my health and a good summer can put it in my power to travel to Summer-Seat, I must take that journey on purpose to expostulate with you for all the unprovoked injuries you have done me. I have seen some persons who live in your neighbourhood, from whom I have enquired into your character; but I found you had bribed them all by never sending them any such dangerous presents: For they swore to me, that you were a lady adorned with all perfections, such as virtue, prudence, wit, humour, excellent conversation, and even good housewifery; which last is seldom the talent of ladies in this kingdom.

dom. But I take so ill your manner of treating me, that I shall not believe one syllable of what they said, until I have it by a letter under your own hand. Our common run of ladies here dare not read before a man, and much less dare to write, for fear (as their expression is) of being exposed. So that when I see any of your sex, if they be worth mending, I beat them all, call them names, until they leave off their follies, and ask pardon. And therefore, because princes are said to have long hands, I wish I were a prince with hands long enough to beat you at this distance, for all your faults, particularly your ill treatment of me. However, I will conclude with charity. May you never give me cause to change, in any single article, the opinion and idea I have of your person and qualities. May you very long continue the delight of your uncle and your neighbours round, who deserve your good-will, and of all who have merit enough to distinguish you. I am, with great respect and the highest esteem,

MADAM,

Your most obedient and

Most obliged humble servant.

L E T T E R LXXI.

To Mr. ALDERMAN BARBER.

My dear and honoured Friend,

Aug. 8, 1738.

I HAVE received yours of July 27th, and two days ago had a letter from Mr. Pope, with a dozen lines from my Lord Bolingbroke, who tells me he is just going to France, and I suppose designs to continue there as long as he lives. I am very sorry he is under a necessity of selling Dawley: Pray, let me know whether he be tolerably easy in his fortunes; for he hath these several years, lived very expensively. Is his Lady still alive? And hath he still a country-house and an estate of hers to live

live on? I should be glad to live so long, as to see his History of his own Times, which would be a work very worthy of his Lordship, and will be a defence of that ministry, and a justification of our late glorious Queen, against the malice, ignorance, falsehood, and stupidity of our present times and managers. I very much like Mr. Pope's last poem, entitled M D C C XXXVIII, called Dialogue II.; but I live so obscurely, and know so little of what passes in London, that I cannot know the names of persons and things by initial letters.

I am very glad to hear that the Duke of Ormond lives so well at ease and in so good health, as well as with so valuable a companion. His Grace hath an excellent constitution at so near to fourscore. Mr. Dunkin is not in town, but I will send to him when I hear he is come. I extremely love my Lord and Lady Oxford, but his way of managing his fortune is not to be endured. I remember a rascally butcher, one Morley, a great land-jobber and knave, who was his Lordship's manager, and hath been the principal cause of my Lord's wrong conduct, in which you agree with me in blaming his weakness and credulity. I desire you will please, upon occasion, to present my humble service to my Lord and Lady Oxford, and to my Lord Bathurst. I just expected the character you give of young *****. I hated him from a boy. I wonder Mr. Ford is alive; perhaps walking preserves him.

I very much lament your asthma. I believe temperance and exercise have preserved me from it. I seldom walk less than four miles, sometimes six, eight, ten, or more, never beyond my own limits; or, if it rains, I walk as much through the house, up and down stairs: And, if it were not for this cruel deafness, I would ride through the kingdom, and half through England; pox on the modern phrase, *Great Britain*, which is only to distinguish it from Little Britain, where old cloaths and old books are to be bought and sold. However, I will put Dr. Sheridan (the best scholar in both kingdoms) upon taking your receipt for a terrible asthma. I wish you were rich enough to buy and keep

keep a horse, and ride every tolerable day twenty miles. I Mr. Richardson is, I think, still in London. I assure you he is very grateful to me, and is too wise and discreet to give any just occasion of complaint, by which he must be a great loser in reputation, and a greater in his fortune.

I have not written so much this many a day. I have tired myself much; but, in revenge, I will tire you.

I am, dear Mr. Alderman, with very great esteem,

Your most obedient and

Most humble servant.

L E T T E R LXXII.

Mr. P O P E to Dr. S W I F T.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Twitnam, Oct. 12, 1738.

I COULD gladly tell you every week the many things that pass in my heart, and revive the memory of all your friendship to me; but I am not so willing to put you to the trouble of shewing it (though I know you have it as warm as ever) upon little or trivial occasions. Yet, this once, I am unable to refuse the request of a very particular and very deserving friend; one of those whom his own merit has forced me to contract an intimacy with, after I had sworn never to love a man more, since the sorrow it cost me to have loved so many, now dead, banished, or unfortunate. I mean Mr. Lyttelton, one of the worthiest of the rising generation. His nurse has a son, whom I would beg you to promote to the next vacancy in your choir. I loved my own nurse, and so does Lyttelton: He loves, and is loved through the whole chain of relations, dependents, and acquaintance. He is one who would apply to any person to please me, or to serve mine: I owe it to him to apply to you for this man, whose name is William Lamb, and he is the bearer of this letter. I presume he is qualified for that which he desires;

and

and I doubt not, if it be consistent with justice, you will gratify me in him.

Let this, however, be an opportunity of telling you ——— What? ——— what I cannot tell, the kindness I bear you, the affection I feel for you, the hearty wishes I form for you, my prayers for your health of body and mind, or the best softening of the want of either, quiet and resignation. You lose little by *not bearing* such things as this idle and base generation has to tell you: You lose not much by *forgetting* most of what *now* passes in it. Perhaps, to have a memory that retains the past scenes of our country, and forgets the present, is the means to be happier and better contented. But, if the *evil of the day* be not intolerable (though sufficient, God knows, at any period of life) we *may*, at least we *should*, nay we *must* (whether patiently or impatiently) bear it, and make the best of what we cannot make better, but may make worse. To hear that this is your situation, and your temper, and that peace attends you at home, and one or two true friends, who are tender about you, would be a great ease to me to know, and know from yourself. Tell me who those are whom you now love or esteem, that I may love and esteem them too; and, if ever they come into England, let them be my friends. If, by any thing I can here do, I can serve you, or please you, be certain it will mend my happiness; and that no satisfaction any thing gives me here will be superior, if equal to it.

My dear Dean, whom I never will forget, or think of with coolness, many are yet living here who frequently mention you with affection and respect. Lord Orrery, Lord Bathurst, Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Oxford, Lord Masham, Lewis, Mrs. P. Blount, (allow one woman to the list, for she is as constant to old friendships as any man;) and many young men there are, nay all that are any credit to this age, who love you unknown, who kindle at your fire, and learn by your genius. Nothing of you can die, nothing of you can decay, nothing of you can suffer, nothing of you can be obscured, or locked up from esteem and admiration, except what is at the Deanry; just as much of you
only

only as God made mortal. May the rest of you (which is all) be as happy hereafter as honest men may expect and need not doubt; while (knowing nothing more) they know, that their Maker is merciful. Adieu.

Your's ever,

A. POPE.

L E T T E R LXXIII.

To the Honourable the SOCIETY of the GOVERNOUR and ASSISTANTS, London, for the NEW PLANTATION in Ulster, within the Realm of Ireland, at their Chamber in Guild-hall, London.

WORTHY GENTLEMEN,

By conjecture, 1738.

I HEARTILY recommend to your very Worshipful Society, the Reverend Mr. William Dunkin, for the living of Colerain, vacant by the death of Dr. Squire. Mr. Dunkin is a gentleman of great learning and wit, true religion, and excellent morals. It is only for these qualifications that I recommend him to your patronage; and I am confident that you will never repent the choice of such a man, who will be ready at any time to obey your commands. You have my best wishes, and all my endeavours for your prosperity: And I shall, during my life, continue to be, with the truest respect and highest esteem,

WORTHY SIRs,

Your most obedient and

Most humble servant,

JONATH. SWIFT.

L E T T E R LXXIV.

To Mr. POPE.

May 10th, 1739, at a conjecture.

YOU are to suppose, for the little time I shall live, that my memory is entirely gone, and especially of any thing that was told me last night, or this morning. I have one favour to entreat from you. I know the high esteem and friendship you bear to your friend Mr. Lyttelton, whom you call the rising genius of this age. His fame, his virtue, honour, and courage, have been early spread even among us. I find he is secretary to the Prince of Wales, and his Royal Highness hath been for several years Chancellor of the University in Dublin. All this is a prelude to a request I am going to make you. There is in this city one Alexander M'Aulay, a lawyer of great distinction for skill and honesty, zealous for the liberty of the subject, and loyal to the House of Hanover; and particularly to the Prince of Wales, for his Highness's love to both kingdoms.

Mr. M'Aulay is now soliciting for a seat in parliament here, vacant by the death of Doctor Coghill, a civilian, who was one of the persons chosen for this university: And, as his Royal Highness continues still Chancellor of it, there is no person so proper to nominate the representative as himself. If this favour can be procured, by your good-will and Mr. Lyttelton's interest, it will be a particular obligation to me, and grateful to the people of Ireland, in giving them one of their own nation to represent this university.

There is a man in my choir, one Mr. Lamb; he hath at present but half a vicarship: The value of it is not quite 50 *l. per annum*. You writ to me in his favour some months ago; and, if I outlive any one vicar-choral, Mr. Lamb shall certainly have a full place, because he very well deserves it: And I am obliged to you very much for recommending him.

L E T T E R LXXV.

To Mr. LYTTTELTON.*

SIR,

June 5th, 1739.

YOU treat me very hard, by beginning your letter with owning an obligation to me on account of Mr. Lamb, which deserves mine and my chapter's thanks, for recommending so useful a person to my choir. It is true I gave Mr. Deane Swift a letter to my dear friend Mr. Pope, that he might have the happiness to see and know so great a genius in poetry, and so agreeable in all other good qualities; but the young man (several years older than you) was much surpris'd to see his junior in so high a station, as Secretary to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and to find himself treated by you in so kind a manner. In one article you are greatly mistaken. For, however ignorant we may be in the affairs of England, your character is as well known among us, in every particular, as it is in the Prince your Master's court, and indeed all over this poor kingdom.

You will find that I have not altogether forgotten my old court-politics: For, in a letter I writ to Mr. Pope, I desired him to recommend Mr. M'Aulay to your favour and protection, as a most worthy, honest, and deserving gentleman; and I perceive you have effectually interceded with the Prince, to prevail with the university to chuse him for a member to represent that learned body in parliament, in the room of Dr. Coghill deceased.

I have been just now informed, that some of the Fellows have sent over an apology, or rather a remonstrance, to the Prince of Wales, pretending they were under a prior engagement to one Mr. Tisdal, and therefore have desired his Royal Highness to withdraw his recommendation. A modest request indeed, to demand from their Chancellor what they think is dishonourable in themselves, to give up an engagement. Their whole pro-

* Now Lord Lyttelton.

ceeding, on this occasion, against their Chancellor, heir of the Crown, is universally condemned here, and seems to be the last effort of such men; who, without duly considering, make rash promises, not consistent with the prudence expected from them.

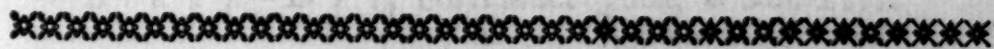
I can hardly venture the boldness to desire, that his Royal Highness may know from you the profound respect, honour, esteem, and veneration, I bear towards his princely virtues. All my friends on your side the water represent him to me in the most amiable light; and the people infallibly reckon upon a golden age in both kingdoms, when it shall please God to make him the Restorer of the liberties of his people.

I ought to accuse you highly for your ill-treatment of me, by wishing yourself in the number of my friends: But you shall be pardoned, if you please to be one of my protectors; and your protection cannot be long. You shall therefore make it up in thinking favourably of me. Years have made me lose my memory in every thing but friendship and gratitude: And you, whom I have never seen, will never be forgotten by me, until I am dead. I am, Honourable Sir, with the highest respect,

Your most obedient and

Obliged humble servant.

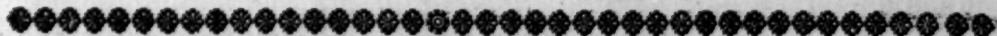




P O E M S

O N

SEVERAL OCCASIONS.



reading on this occasion, against their character, that of the
Crown, in consequence of which, and to be the
last of the kind, who, when their confiding, under
most tedious, compared with the present, expected from
them.

I shall not, I think, be obliged to repeat, that I have
written, for the purpose of this, and not of any other
kind, a history of the reign of King George the Third, and
not of the reign of King George the Second, as I have
written of the reign of King George the Third, and not
of the reign of King George the Second.

XX

It is not, I think, necessary to repeat, that I have
written, for the purpose of this, and not of any other
kind, a history of the reign of King George the Third, and
not of the reign of King George the Second, as I have
written of the reign of King George the Third, and not
of the reign of King George the Second.

P O E M S
The history of the reign of King George the Third, and
not of the reign of King George the Second, as I have
written of the reign of King George the Third, and not
of the reign of King George the Second.

SEVERAL OCCASIONS

XX

Dr. P A R N E L to Dr. S W I F T,

ON HIS

B I R T H - D A Y, November 30th, M D C C X I I I.

U R G'd by the warmth of Friendship's sacred flame,
But more by all the glories of thy fame;
By all those offsprings of thy learned mind,
In judgment solid, as in wit refin'd,
Resolv'd I sing: Tho' lab'ring up the way
To reach my theme, O Swift, accept my lay.

Rapt by the force of thought, and rais'd above,
Thro' Contemplation's airy fields I rove;
Where pow'rful Fancy purifies my eye,
And lights the beauties of a brighter sky;
Fresh paints the meadows, bids green shades ascend,
Clear rivers wind, and op'ning plains extend;
Then fills it's landscape thro' the vary'd parts
With Virtues, Graces, Sciences, and Arts:
Superiour Forms, of more than mortal air,
More large than mortals, more serenely fair.
Of these two Chiefs, the guardians of thy name,
Conspire to raise thee to the point of fame.
Ye Future Times, I heard the silver sound!
I saw the Graces form a circle round!
Each, where she fix'd, attentive seem'd to root,
And all, but Eloquence herself, was mute.

High o'er the rest I see the Goddess rise,
Loose to the breeze her upper garment flies:
By turns, within her eyes the Passions burn,
And softer Passions languish in their turn:

Upon

Upon her tongue Persuasion, or Command;
And decent Action dwells upon her hand.

From out her breast ('twas there the treasure lay)
She drew thy labours to the blaze of day.
Then gaz'd, and read the charms she could inspire,
And taught the list'ning audience to admire,
How strong thy flight, how large thy grasp of thought,
How just thy schemes, how regularly wrought;
How sure you wound when Ironies deride,
Which must be seen, and feign to turn aside.

'Twas thus exploring she rejoic'd to see
Her brightest features drawn so near by thee:
Then here, she cries, let future ages dwell,
And learn to copy where they can't excel.

She spake. Applause attended on the close:
Then Poesy, her sister-art, arose;
Her fairer sister, born in deeper ease,
Not made so much for bus'ness, more to please.
Upon her cheek sits Beauty, ever young;
The Soul of Music warbles on her tongue;
Bright in her eyes a pleasing Ardour glows,
And from her heart the sweetest Temper flows:
A laurel-wreath adorns her curls of hair,
And binds their order to the dancing air:
She shakes the colours of her radiant wing,
And, from the Spheres, she takes a pitch to sing.

Thrice happy Genius his, whose Works have hit
The lucky point of bus'ness and of wit.
They seem like show'rs, which April months prepare
To call their flow'ry glories up to air:
The drops descending, take the painted bow,
And dress with sunshine, while for good they flow,
To me retiring oft, he finds relief
In slowly-wasting care, and biting grief:
From me retreating oft, he gives to view
What eases care and grief in others too.

Ye

Ye fondly grave, be wise enough to know,
" Life ne'er unbent were but a life of woe."
Some full in stretch for greatness, some for gain,
On his own rack each puts himself to pain.
I'll gently steal you from your toils away,
Where balmy winds with scents ambrosial play;
Where, on the banks as crystal rivers flow,
They teach immortal amarants to grow:
Then, from the mild indulgence of the scene,
Restore your tempers strong for toils again.

She ceas'd: Soft music trembled in the wind,
And sweet delight diffus'd thro' ev'ry mind:
The little Smiles, which still the Goddess grace,
Sportive arose, and ran from face to face.
But chief (and in that place the Virtues blest)
A gentle band their eager joys express:
Here Friendship asks, and Love of Merit longs
To hear the Goddesses renew their songs;
Here great Benevolence to Man is pleas'd;
These own their Swift, and grateful hear him prais'd.
You gentle band, you well may bear your part,
You reign Superior Graces in his heart.

O SWIFT! if fame be life, (as well we know
That Bards and Heroes have esteem'd it so)
Thou canst not wholly die; thy works will shine
To future times, and Life in Fame be thine,

To LORD HARLEY, since Earl of OXFORD,
on his MARRIAGE.

Written in the Year M DCC XIII.

AMONG the numbers who employ
Their tongues and pens to give you joy,
Dear Harley, gen'rous Youth, admit
What friendship dictates more than wit.

Forgive me, when I fondly thought
(By frequent observation taught)
A spirit so inform'd as yours
Could never prosper in amours.
The God of Wit, and Light, and Arts,
With all acquir'd and nat'ral parts,
Whose harp could savage beasts enchant,
Was an unfortunate gallant.
Had Bacchus after Daphne reel'd,
The Nymph had soon been brought to yield;
Or, had Embroider'd Mars pursu'd,
The Nymph would ne'er have been a prude.
Ten thousand footsteps, full in view,
Mark out the way where Daphne flew,
For such is all the sex's flight,
They fly from learning, wit, and light:
They fly, and none can overtake
But some gay coxcomb, or a rake.

How then, dear Harley, could I guess
That you should meet, in love, success?
For, if those antient Tales be true,
Phœbus was beautiful as you:
Yet Daphne never slack'd her pace,
For wit and learning spoil'd his face.

And,

And, since the same resemblance held
In gifts, wherein you both excell'd,
I fancy'd ev'ry nymph would run
From you, as from Latona's son.

Then where, said I, shall Harley find
A virgin of superior mind,
With wit and virtue to discover,
And pay the merit of her Lover?

This character shall Ca'ndish claim,
Born to retrieve her sex's fame.
The chief among that glitt'ring crowd,
Of titles, birth, and fortune proud,
(As fools are insolent and vain)
Madly aspir'd to wear her chain:
But Pallas, guardian of the Maid,
Descending to her Charge's aid,
Held out Medusa's snaky locks,
Which stupify'd them all to stocks.
The Nymph, with indignation, view'd
The dull, the noisy, and the lewd:
For Pallas, with celestial light,
Had purify'd her mortal sight;
Shew'd her the Virtues all combin'd,
Fresh blooming, in young Harley's mind.

Terrestrial nymphs, by formal arts,
Display their various nets for hearts:
Their looks are all by method set,
When to be prude, and when coquette;
Yet, wanting skill and pow'r to chuse,
Their only pride is to refuse.
But, when a Goddess would bestow
Her love on some bright youth below,
Round all the earth she casts her eyes;
And then, descending from the skies,

(U 2)

Makes

Makes choice of him the fancies best,
And bids the ravish'd youth be blest'd.

Thus the bright Empress of the Morn
Chose, for her spouse, a mortal born:
The Goddess made advances first,
Else what aspiring hero durst
Tho', like a virgin of fifteen,
She blushes when by mortals seen;
Still blushes, and with speed retires,
When Sol pursues her with his fires.

Diana thus, Heav'n's chafest queen,
Struck with Endymion's graceful mien,
Down from her silver chariot came,
And to the Shepherd own'd her flame.

Thus Ca'ndish, as Aurora bright,
And chaster than the Queen of Night,
Descended from her sphere to find
A Mortal of superior kind.



EPIGRAM on Mr. HARLEY being stabbed by GUISCARD.

Written by Bishop ATTERBURY.

DEVOTUM ut cordi sensit sub pectore ferrum
 Immoto Harlæus faucibus ore stetit,
 Dum tamen huic lætâ gratatur voce Senatus,
 Confusus subito pallor in ore sedit:
 O pudor! O virtus! partes quàm dignus utraque
 Sustinuit, vultu dispare, laude pari.

On Bishop BURNET's being set on Fire in his Closet.

By DOCTOR FARNEL.

FROM that dire æra, bane to Særum's pride,
 Which broke his schemes and laid his friends aside,
 He talks and writes that Pop'ry will return,
 And we, and he, and all his works will burn!
 What touch'd himself was almost fairly prov'd,
 (Oh, far from Britain be the rest remov'd!)
 For, as of late he meant to bless the age
 With flagrant Prefaces of party-rage,
 O'er-wrought with passion and the subject's weight,
 Lolling, he nodded in his elbow-seat,
 Down fell the candle; Grease and Zeal conspire,
 Heat meets with heat, and Pamphlets burn their Sire.
 Here crawls a Preface on its half-burn'd maggots,
 And there an Introduction brings it's faggots;
 Then roars the Prophet of the Northern Nation,
 Scorch'd by a flaming speech on Moderation.

Unwarn'd by this, go on the realm to fright,
 Thou Briton, vaunting in thy second-sight;
 In such a Ministry you safely tell,
 How much you'd suffer, if Religion fell.

DIREC-

D I R E C T I O N S

FOR MAKING

A B I R T H - D A Y S O N G .

Written in the Year M D C C X X I X .

TO form a just and finish'd piece,
 Take twenty Gods of Rome or Greece,
 Whose godships are in chief request,
 And fit your present subject best:
 And, should it be your Hero's case,
 To have both male and female race,
 Your business must be to provide
 A score of Goddesses beside.

Some call their monarchs sons of Saturn,
 For which they bring a modern pattern;
 Because they might have heard of one,
 Who often long'd to eat his son:
 But this, I think, will not go down,
 For here the father kept his crown.

Why, then, appoint him son of Jove,
 Who met his mother in a grove:
 To this we freely shall consent,
 Well knowing what the poets meant;
 And in their sense, 'twixt me and you,
 It may be literally true.

Next, as the laws of verse require,
 He must be greater than his fire;
 For Jove, as ev'ry school-boy knows,
 Was able Saturn to depose:

And

And sure no Christian poet breathing
Would be more scrup'lous than a Heathen?

Or, if to blasphemy it tends,
That's but a trifle among friends.

Your Hero now another Mars is,
Makes mighty armies turn their a---s;
Behold his glittering faulchion mow
Whole squadrons at a single blow:
While Victory, with wings outspread,
Flies, like an eagle, o'er his head.
His milk-white steed upon it's haunches,
Or pawing into dead mens paunches:
As Overton has drawn his fire,
Still seen o'er many an ale-house fire.
Then from his arm hoarse thunder rolls,
As loud as fifty mustard bowls:
For thunder still his arm supplies,
And light'ning always in his eyes.
They both are cheap enough in conscience,
And serve to echo rattling nonsense.
The rumbling words march fierce along,
Made trebly dreadful in your song.

Sweet poet, hir'd for birth-day rhymes,
To sing of wars chuse peaceful times.
What tho', for fifteen years and more,
Janus hath lock'd his temple-door;
Tho' not a coffee-house we read in
Hath mention'd arms on this side Sweden,
Nor London-Journals, nor the Postmen,
Tho' fond of warlike lies as most men;
Thou still with battles stuff thy head full,
For, must thy hero not be dreadful?

Dismissing Mars, it next must follow
Your conqu'ror is become Apollo:

That

That he's Apollo is as plain as
 That Robin Walpole is Mecenas;
 But that he struts, and that he squints,
 You'd know him by Apollo's prints.
 Old Phœbus is but half as bright,
 For yours can shine both day and night.
 The first, perhaps, may once an age
 Inspire you with poetic rage;
 Your Phœbus Royal, ev'ry day,
 Not only can inspire, but pay.

Then make this new Apollo sit
 Sole patron, judge, and god of wit.
 "How from his altitude he stoops
 "To raise up Virtue when she droops;
 "On Learning how his bounty flows,
 "And with what justice he bestows;
 "Fair Isis, and ye banks of Cam!
 "Be witnesses if I tell a sham.
 "What prodigies in Arts we drain,
 "From both your streams, in G—'s reign.
 "As from the flow'ry bed of Nile," —
 But here's enough to shew your style.
 Broad inuendos, such as this,
 If well applied, can hardly miss:
 For, when you bring your song in print,
 He'll get it read, and take the hint;
 (It must be read before 'tis warbled,
 The paper gilt, and cover marbled;)
 And will be so much more your debtor,
 Because he never knew a letter.
 And, as he bears his wit and sense,
 (To which he never made pretence)
 Set out in hyperbolic strains,
 A guinea shall reward your pains.

For patrons never pay so well,
As when they scarce have learn'd to spell.

Next call him Neptune: With his trident
He rules the sea; you see him ride in't;
And, if provok'd, he soundly firks his
Rebellious waves with rods, like Xerxes.
He would have seiz'd the Spanish plate,
Had not the fleet gone out too late;
And in their very ports besiege 'em,
But that he would not disoblige them;
And made the rascals pay him dearly
For those affronts they give him yearly.

'Tis not deny'd, that, when we write,
Our ink is black, our paper white;
And, when we scrawl our paper o'er,
We blacken what was white before:
I think this practice only fit
For dealers in satiric wit.

But you some white-lead ink must get,
And write on paper black as jet;
Your int'rest lies to learn the knack
Of whit'ning what before was black:

Thus your encomium, to be strong,
Must be apply'd directly wrong.
A tyrant for his mercy praise,
And crown a royal dunce with bays:
A squinting monkey load with charms,
And paint a coward fierce in arms.
Is he to avarice inclin'd?
Extol him for his gen'rous mind:
And, when we starve for want of corn,
Come out with Amalthea's horn.
For all experience this evinces
The only art of pleasing princes:

For, princes love you should descant
 On virtues which they know they want.
 One compliment I had forgot,
 But songsters must omit it not;
 I freely grant the thought is old:
 Why then, your hero must be told,
 In him such virtues lie inherent,
 To qualify him God's vicegerent,
 That, with no title to inherit,
 He must have been a king by merit.
 Yet, be the fancy old or new,
 'Tis partly false and partly true;
 And, take it right, it means no more
 Than G——e and W——m claim'd before.

Should some obscure inferior fellow,
 Like Julius, or the Youth of Pella,
 When all your list of Gods is out,
 Presume to shew his mortal snout,
 And as a Deity intrude,
 Because he had the world subdu'd;
 Oh, let him not debase your thoughts,
 Or name him but to tell his faults.

Of Gods I only quote the best,
 But you may hook in all the rest.

Now, Birth-day Bard, with joy proceed
 To praise your Empress and her breed.
 First of the first, to vouch your lies,
 Bring all the females of the skies;
 The Graces, and their mistress Venus,
 Must venture down to entertain us:
 With bended knees, when they adore her,
 What dowdies they appear before her!
 Nor shall we think you talk at random,
 For Venus might be her great-grandam:

Six thousand years has liv'd the Goddess,
 Your Heroine hardly fifty odd is.
 Besides, you songsters oft have shown
 That she hath Graces of her own:
 Three Graces, by Lucina brought her,
 Just three, and ev'ry Grace a daughter!
 Here many a king his heart and crown
 Shall at their snowy feet lay down;
 In royal robes, they come by dozens
 To court their English-German cousins:
 Besides a pair of princely babies,
 That, five years hence, will both be Hebes.

Now see her seated in her throne
 With genuine lustre, all her own:
 Poor Cynthia never shone so bright,
 Her splendor is but borrow'd light;
 And only with her Brother linkt
 Can shine, without him is extinct.
 But C——a shines the clearer
 With neither spouse nor brother near her;
 And darts her beams o'er both our isles,
 Tho' G——e is gone a thousand miles.
 Thus Berecynthia takes her place,
 Attended by her heav'nly race;
 And sees a son in ev'ry God,
 Unaw'd by Jove's all-shaking nod.

Now sing his little Highness ****,
 Who struts like any king already:
 With so much beauty, shew me any maid
 That could resist this charming Ganymede?
 Where majesty with sweetness vies,
 And, like his father, early wife.
 Then cut him out a world of work,
 To conquer Spain, and quell the Turk:

Foretel his empire crown'd with bays,
 And golden times, and halcyon days;
 And swear his line shall rule the nation
 For ever —— 'till the conflagration.

But, now it comes into my mind,
 We left a little D——e behind;
 A Cupid in his face and size,
 And only wants to want his eyes,
 Make some provision for the youngker,
 Find him a kingdom out to conquer:
 Prepare a fleet to waft him o'er,
 Make Gulliver his commodore;
 Into whose pocket valiant Willy put,
 Will soon subdue the realm of Lilliput.

A skilful critic justly blames
 Hard, tough, crank, gutt'ral, harsh, stiff names:
 The sense can ne'er be too jejune,
 But smooth your words to fit the tune.
 Hanover may do well enough,
 But George and Brunswic are too rough:
 Hesse Darmstadt makes a rugged sound,
 And Guelp the strongest ear will wound.
 In vain are all attempts from Germany
 To find out proper words for harmony:
 And yet I must except the Rhine,
 Because it clicks to Caroline.
 Hail! Queen of Britain, Queen of rhymes!
 Be sung ten hundred thousand times!
 Too happy were the poets crew,
 If their own happiness they knew:
 Three syllables did never meet
 So soft, so sliding, and so sweet:
 Nine other tuneful words like that
 Would prove ev'n Homer's numbers flat.

Behold

Behold three beauteous vowels stand,
With bridegroom liquids, hand in hand ;
In concord here for ever fix'd,
No jarring consonant betwixt.

May C——e continue long,
For ever fair and young! — in song.
What tho' the royal carcase must,
Squeez'd in a coffin, turn to dust?
Those elements her name compose,
Like atoms, are exempt from blows.

Tho' C——e may fill your gaps,
Yet still you must consult your maps ;
Find rivers with harmonious names,
Sabrina, Medway, and the Thames.
Britannia long will wear like steel,
But Albion's Cliffs are out at heel ;
And patience can endure no more
To hear the Belgic Lion roar.
Give up the phrase of Haughty Gaul,
But proud Iberia soundly maul :
Restore the ships by Philip taken,
And make him crouch to save his bacon.
Nassau, who got the name of Glorious,
Because he never was victorious,
A hanger-on has always been ;
For old acquaintance bring him in.

To Walpole you might lend a line,
But much I fear he's in decline ;
And, if you chance to come too late,
When he goes out, you share his fate,
And bear the new successor's frown ;
Or, whom you once fang up, fang down.

Reject with scorn that stupid notion,
To praise your hero for devotion ;

Nor entertain a thought so odd,
That princes should believe in God ;
But follow the securest rule,
And turn it all to ridicule :
'Tis grown the choicest wit at Court,
And gives the maids of honour sport.
For, since they talkt with Doctor Clarke,
They now can venture in the dark :
That found Divine the truth hath spoke all,
And pawn'd his word, Hell is not local.
This will not give them half the trouble
Of bargains fold, or meanings double.

Supposing now your song is done,
To Mynheer Handel next you run,
Who artfully will pare and prune
Your words to some Italian tune :
Then print it in the largest letter,
With capitals, the more the better.
Present it boldly on your knee,
And take a Guinea for your fee.



On the HERMITAGE at RICHMOND.

LEWIS, the living learned fed,
 And rais'd the scientific head:
 Our frugal Q—n, to save her meat,
 Exalts the heads that cannot eat.

A CONCLUSION drawn from the above Epigram, and sent
 to the DRAPIER.

SINCE Anna, whose bounty thy merits had fed,
 Ere her own was laid low, had exalted thy head;
 And since our good Q—n to the wife is so just,
 To raise heads for such as are humbled in dust;
 I wonder, good man, that you are not envaulted:
 Prithee, go and be dead, and be doubly exalted.

Dr. SWIFT'S ANSWER.

HER Majesty never shall be my exalter;
 And yet she would raise me, I know — by a halter.

BILLET to the COMPANY of PLAYERS.

THE inclosed Prologue is formed upon the story of the Secretary's not suffering you to act, unless you would pay him 300 *l. per annum*, upon which you got a licence from the Lord Mayor to act as strollers.

The Prologue supposes, that, upon your being forbidden to act, a company of country-strollers came and hired the Play-house, and your cloaths, &c. to act in.

The

The P R O L O G U E.

OUR set of strollers, wand'ring up and down,
 Hearing the House was empty, came to town;
 And, with a licence from our good Lord May'r,
 Went to one Griffith, formerly a play'r:
 Him we persuaded with a mod'rate bribe,
 To speak to Elrington, and all the tribe,
 To let our company supply their places,
 And hire us out their scenes, and cloaths, and faces.
 Is not the truth the truth? Look full on me;
 I am not Elrington, nor Griffith he.
 When we perform, look sharp among our crew,
 There's not a creature here you ever knew.
 The former folks were servants to the king,
 We, humble strollers, always on the wing.
 Now, for my part, I think upon the whole,
 Rather than starve, a better man would strole.

Stay, let me see — Three hundred pounds a year,
 For leave to act in town? 'Tis plaguy dear.
 Now, here's a warrant; Gallants, please to mark,
 For three thirteens and sixpence to the clerk.
 Three hundred pounds! Were I the price to fix,
 The public should bestow the actors fix.
 A score of guineas, given under-hand,
 For a good word or so, we understand.
 To help an honest lad that's out of place,
 May cost a crown or so; a common case:
 And, in a crew, 'tis no injustice thought
 To ship a rogue, and pay him not a groat.
 But, in the chronicles of former ages,
 Who ever heard of servants paying wages?
 I pity Elrington with all my heart;
 Would he were here this night to act my part.
 I told him what it was to be a stroller,
 How free we acted, and had no controller:

In ev'ry town we wait on Mr. May'r,
 First get a licence, then produce our ware:
 We sound a trumpet, or we beat a drum;
 Huzza! the school-boys roar, the play'rs are come!
 And then we cry, to spur the bumkins on,
 Gallants, by Tuesday next we must be gone.
 I told him, in the smoothest way I could,
 All this and more, yet it would do no good.
 But Elrington, tears falling from his cheeks,
 He that has shone with Betterton and Weeks,
 To whom our country has been always dear,
 Who chose to leave his dearest pledges here,
 Owns all your favours; here intends to stay,
 And, as a stroller, act in ev'ry play:
 And the whole crew this resolution takes,
 To live and die all strollers for your sakes;
 Not frightened with an ignominious name,
 For your displeasure is their only shame.

A pox on Elrington's majestic tone!
 Now to a word of bus'ness in our own.
 Gallants, next Thursday night will be our last,
 Then, without fail, we pack up for Belfast.
 Lose not your time, nor our diversions miss,
 The next we act shall be as good as this.

THE

YAHOO'S OVERTHROW;

OR,

The KEVAN BAYL'S NEW BALLAD, upon Serjeant Kite's
insulting the Dean.

To the Tune of *Derry down*.

JOLLY boys of St. Kevans, St. Patrick's, Donore,
And Smithfield, I'll tell you, if not told before,
How B—th, that booby, and S—l in grain,
Hath insulted us all by insulting the Dean.

Knock him down, down, down, knock him down.

The Dean and his merits we ev'ry one know,
But this skip of a Lawyer, where the De'el did he grow?
How greater's his merit at four Courts or House,
Than the barking of Towzer, or leap of a louse?

Knock him down, &c.

That he came from the Temple, his morals do show,
But where his deep law is, few mortals yet know:
His rhet'ric, bombast, filly jests, are by far
More like to lampooning than pleading at bar.

Knock him down, &c.

This pedlar, at speaking and making of laws,
Hath met with returns of all sorts but applause;
Has, with noise and odd gestures, been prating some years,
What honefter folks never durst for their ears.

8

Knock him down, &c.

Of

Of all fizes and forts, the Fanatical crew
 Are his Brother Protestants, good men and true ;
 Red hat, and blue bonnet, and turban's the same;
 What the De'el is't to him whence the Devil they came?

Knock him down, &c.

Hobbes, Tindal, and Woolston, and Collins, and Nayler,
 And Muggleton, Toland, and Bradley the taylor,
 Are Christians alike; and it may be averr'd,
 He's a Christian as good as the rest of the herd.

Knock him down, &c.

He only the rights of the clergy debates,
 Their rights! their importance! We'll set on new rates
 On their tythes at half-nothing, their priesthood at less:
 What's next to be voted with ease you may guess.

Knock him down, &c.

At length his Old Master (I need not him name)
 To this damnable Speaker had long ow'd a shame;
 When his speech came abroad, he paid him off clean,
 By leaving him under the pen of the Dean.

Knock him down, &c.

He kindled, as if the whole Satire had been
 The oppression of Virtue, not wages of Sin:
 He began as he bragg'd, with a rant and a roar;
 He bragg'd how he bounc'd, and he swore how he swore.

Knock him down, &c.

Tho' he cring'd to his Deanship in very low strains,
 To others he boasted of knocking out brains,
 And flitting of noses, and cropping of ears,
 While his own afs's Zaggs were more fit for the shears.

Knock him down, &c.

On this Worrier of Deans whene'er we can hit,
We'll shew him the way how to crop and to slit;
We'll teach him some better addrefs to afford
To the Dean of all Deans, tho' he wears not a sword.

Knock him down, &c.

We'll colt him thro' Kevan, St. Patrick's, Donore,
And Smithfield, as Rap was ne'er colted before;
We'll oil him with kennel, and powd'r him with grains,
A modus right fit for insulters of Deans.

Knock him down, &c.

And, when this is over, we'll make him amends,
To the Dean he shall go; they shall kifs, and be friends:
But how? Why, the Dean shall to him disclose
A face for to kifs, without eyes, ears, or nose.

Knock him down, &c.

If you say this is hard, on a man that is reckon'd
That serjeant at law, whom we call Kite the Second,
You mistake; for a Slave, who will coax his superiors,
May be proud to be licking a great man's posteriors.

Knock him down, &c.

What care we how high runs his passion or pride?
Tho' his foul he despises, he values his hide:
Then fear not his tongue, or his sword, or his knife;
He'll take his revenge on his innocent wife.

Knock him down, down, down,—keep him down.

ON THE
ARCHBISHOP of CASHEL,
and BETTESWORTH.

DEAR Dick, prithee tell by what passion you move?
The world is in doubt, whether hatred or love;
And, while at good Cashel you rail with such spite,
They shrewdly suspect it is all but a bite.
You certainly know, tho' so loudly you vapour,
His spite cannot wound, who attempted the Drapier.
Then, prithee reflect, take a word of advice;
And, as your old wont is, change sides in a trice
On his virtues hold forth; 'tis the very best way;
And say of the man what all honest men say.
But if, still obdurate, your anger remains,
If still your foul bosom more rancour contains;
Say then more than they; nay, lavishly flatter,
'Tis your gross panegyrics alone can bespatter.
For thine, my dear Dick, give me leave to speak plain,
Like a very foul mop, dirty more than they clean.



ON THE
IRISH-CLUB.

Written in the Year M DCC XXIX.

YE paultry underlings of state,
Ye f—rs, who love to prate;
Ye r—ls of inferior note,
Who, for a dinner, sell a vote;
Ye pack of pensionary P—rs,
Whose fingers itch for poets ears;
Ye bishops far remov'd from saints,
Why all this rage? Why these complaints?
Why against Printers all this noise?
This summoning of blackguard boys?
Why so sagacious in your guesses?
Your *effs* and *tees*, and *arrs*, and *esses*?
Take my advice; to make you safe,
I know a shorter way by half.
The point is plain: Remove the cause;
Defend your liberties and laws.
Be sometimes to your country true,
Have once the public good in view:
Bravely despise Champagne at Court,
And chuse to dine at home with Port:
Let Pr—s, by their good behaviour,
Convince us they believe a Saviour;
Nor sell what they so dearly bought,
This country, now their own, for nought.
Ne'er did a true satyric muse
Virtue or innocence abuse;
And 'tis against poetic rules
To rail at men by nature fools:
But * * * * *

* * * * *

DR. SWIFT to HIMSELF,

O N

S A I N T C E C I L I A ' s D A Y .

GRAVE Dean of St. Patrick's, how comes it to pass,
That you, who know music no more than an ass,
That you, who so lately were writing of Drapiers,
Should lend your Cathedral to players and scrapers?
To act such an opera once in a year,
So offensive to ev'ry true Protestant ear,
With trumpets, and fiddles, and organs, and finging,
Will sure the Pretender and Popery bring in.
No Protestant prelate, his Lordship, or Grace,
Durst there shew his Right or Most Reverend face:
How would it pollute their crofiers and rochets,
To listen to minims, and quavers, and crotchets?

The rest is wanting.

TO

STELLA.

MARCH 13, MDCCXXIII-IV.

[Written on the Day of her Birth, but not on the Subject,
when I was sick in bed.]

TORMENTED with incessant pains,
Can I devise poetic strains?
Time was, when I could yearly pay
My verse on Stella's native day:
But now, unable grown to write,
I grieve she ever saw the light.
Ungrateful; since to her I owe
That I these pains can undergo.
She tends me, like an humble slave;
And, when indecently I rave,
When out my brutish passions break,
With gall in ev'ry word I speak,
She, with soft speech, my anguish hears,
Or melts my passions down with tears:
Although 'tis easy to descry
She wants assistance more than I;
Yet seems to feel my pains alone,
And is a Stoic in her own.
When, among scholars, can we find
So soft, and yet so firm a mind?
All accidents of life conspire
To raise up Stella's virtue higher;
Or else, to introduce the rest
Which had been latent in her breast.
Her firmness who could e'er have known,
Had she not evils of her own?

Her kindness who could ever guess,
 Had not her friends been in distress?
 Whatever base returns you find
 From me, Dear Stella, still be kind.
 In your own heart you'll reap the fruit,
 Tho' I continue still a brute.
 But when I once am out of pain,
 I promise to be good again:
 Meantime your other juster friends
 Shall for my follies make amends:
 So may we long continue thus,
 Admiring you, you pitying us.

ON THE

GREAT BURIED BOTTLE.

By DR. DELANY.

AMPHORA, quæ mœstum linquis, lætumque revives
 Arentem dominum, sit tibi terra levis.
 Tu quoque depositum ferves, neve opprime marmor,
 Amphora non meruit tam pretiosa mori.

EPITAPH on the GREAT BURIED BOTTLE.

By the same.

Hôc tumultata jacet proles Lenæa sepulchro,
 Immortale genus, nec peritura jacet,
 Quin oritura iterum, matris concreditur alvo:
 Bis natum referunt te quoque Bacche Pater.

TO MR. DELANY.

Written NOVEMBER 10, M DCC XVIII.

TO you, whose virtues, I must own
 With shame, I have too lately known;
 To you, by art and nature taught
 To be the man I long have fought,
 Had not ill Fate, perverse and blind,
 Plac'd you in life too far behind;
 Or, what I should repine at more,
 Plac'd me in life too far before:
 To you the Muse this verse bestows,
 Which might as well have been in prose:
 No thought, no fancy, no sublime,
 But simple topics told in rhyme.

Talents for conversation fit,
 Are humour, breeding, sense, and wit:
 The last, as boundless as the wind,
 Is well conceiv'd, though not defin'd:
 For, sure, by wit is chiefly meant
 Applying well what we invent.
 What humour is, not all the tribe
 Of logic-mongers can describe;
 Here nature only acts her part,
 Unhelp'd by practice, books, or art:
 For wit and humour differ quite,
 That gives surprise, and this delight.
 Humour is odd, grotesque, and wild,
 Only by affectation spoil'd:
 'Tis never by invention got,
 Men have it when they know it not.

Our conversation to refine,
 Humour and wit must both combine:
 From both we learn to rally well,
 Wherein sometimes the French excel.
 Voiture, in various lights, displays
 That irony which turns to praise:
 His genius first found out the rule
 For an obliging ridicule:
 He flatters with peculiar air
 The brave, the witty, and the fair:
 And fools would fancy he intends
 A satire where he most commends.

But, as a poor pretending beau,
 Because he fain would make a show,
 Nor can arrive at silver lace,
 Takes up with copper in the place:
 So the pert dunces of mankind,
 Whene'er they would be thought refin'd,
 As if the difference lay abstruse
 Twixt raillery and gross abuse;
 To shew their parts, will scold and rail,
 Like porters o'er a pot of ale.
 Such is the clan of boist'rous bears,
 Always together by the ears;
 Shrewd fellows and arch wags, a tribe
 That meet for nothing but to gibe;
 Who first run one another down,
 And then fall foul on all the town;
 Skill'd in the horse-laugh and dry rub,
 And call'd by excellence The Club.
 I mean your Butler, Dawson, Car,
 All special friends, and always jar.

The mettled and the vicious steed
 Differ as little in their breed;

(Z 2)

Nay,

Nay, Voiture is as like Tom Lee
As rudeness is to repartee.

If what you said, I with unspoke,
'Twill not suffice, it was a joke:
Reproach not, tho' in jest, a friend
For those defects he cannot mend;
His lineage, calling, shape, or sense,
If nam'd with scorn, gives just offence.

What use in life to make men fret,
Part in worse humour than they met?
Thus all society is lost,
Men laugh at one another's cost;
And half the company is teaz'd,
That came together to be pleas'd:
For, all buffoons have most in view
To please themselves by vexing you.

You wonder now to see me write
So gravely on a subject light;
Some part of what I here design
Regards a Friend * of your's and mine;
Who, neither void of sense nor wit,
Yet seldom judges what is fit,
But falls oft beyond his bounds,
And takes unmeasurable rounds.

When jests are carried on too far,
And the loud laugh begins the war,
You keep your countenance for shame,
Yet still you think your friend to blame.
For, though men cry they love a jest,
'Tis but when others stand the test:

* He means Dr. Sheridan.

And,

And, would you have their meaning known?
They love a jest that is their own.

You must, although the point be nice,
Bestow your friend some good advice:
One hint from you will set him right,
And teach him how to be polite.
Bid him, like you, observe with care,
Whom to be hard on, whom to spare;
Nor, indistinctly, to suppose
All subjects like Dan Jackson's nose:
To study the obliging jest
By reading those who teach it best;
For prose I recommend Voiture's,
For verse (I speak my judgment) yours.
He'll find the secret out from thence,
To rhyme all day without offence;
And I no more shall then accuse
The flirts of his ill-manner'd muse.

If he be guilty, you must mend him;
If he be innocent, defend him.



A N
I N V I T A T I O N to D I N N E R,
F R O M

DOCTOR SHERIDAN to DOCTOR SWIFT.

Written in the Year M DCC XXVII.

I'VE sent to the ladies * this morning, to warn 'em
To order their chaise, and repair to † Rathfarnham;
Where you shall be welcome to dine, if your Deanship
Can take up with me, and my friend Stella's leanship ‡.
I've got you some foals, and a fresh bleeding bre†,
That's just disengag'd from the toils of a net;
An excellent loin of fat veal to be roasted,
With lemons, and butter, and fippets well toasted:
Some larks that descended, mistaking the skies,
Which Stella brought down by the light of her eyes;
And there, like Narcissus, they gaz'd till they dy'd,
And now they're to lie in some crumbs that are fry'd.
My wine will inspire you with joy and delight,
*Tis mellow, and old, and sparkling, and bright;
An emblem of one that you love I suppose,
Who gathers more lovers the older she grows ||.
Let me be your Gay, and let Stella be Pope,
We'll wean you from fighting for England I hope:
When we are together there's nothing that is dull,
There's nothing like Durfey, or Smedley, or Tisdall. §
We've sworn to make out an agreeable feast,
Our dinner, our wine, and our wit to your taste.

Your answer in half an hour, tho' you are at Prayers; you have
a pencil in your pocket.

* Mrs. Johnson [Stella] and her friend Mrs. Dingley.

† A village near Dublin, where Dr. Sheridan had a country-house.

‡ Stella was at this time in a very declining state of health. She died the January following.

|| He means Stella, who was certainly one of the most amiable women in the world.

§ A gentleman of wit and learning, who had written some very sarcastic verses upon Sheridan.

DING-

DINGLEY, and BRENT.*

A S O N G.

To the Tune of *Ye Commons and Peers.*

DINGLEY and Brent

Wherever they went,
Ne'er minded a word that was spoken ;
Whatever was said,
They ne'er troubled their head,
But laugh'd at their own silly joking.

Should Solomon wife
In majesty rise,
And shew them his wit and his learning;
They never would hear,
But turn the deaf ear,
As a matter they had no concern in.

You tell a good jest,
And please all the rest,
Comes Dingley, and asks you, What was it?
And curious to know,
Away she will go
To seek an old rag in the closet.

* Dr. Swift's house-keeper.

A
NEW-YEAR'S-GIFT for BEC.*

Written in the Year M D C C X X I I I - I V .

RETURNING Janus now prepares,
For Bec, a new supply of cares,
Sent in a bag to Doctor Swift,
Who thus displays the New-year's gift.

First, this large parcel brings you tidings
Of our good Dean's eternal chidings;
Of Nelly's pertness, Robin's leafings,
And Sheridan's perpetual teazings.
This box is cramm'd on ev'ry side
With Stella's magisterial pride:
Behold a cage with parrows fill'd,
First to be fondled, then be kill'd.
Now to this hamper I invite you,
With fix imagin'd cares to fright you.
Here in this bundle Janus sends
Concerns by thousands for your friends:
And here's a pair of leathern pokes,
To hold your cares for other folks.
Here from this barrel you may broach
A peck of troubles for a coach.
This ball of wax your ears will darken,
Still to be curious, never hearken.
Lest you the town may have less trouble in,
Bring all your Quilca † cares to Dublin,
For which he sends this empty sack;
And so take all upon your back.

* Mrs. Rebecca Dingley, Stella's friend and companion.

† A country house of Dr. Sheridan's.

B E C's B I R T H - D A Y.

NOVEMBER 8th, D MCC XXVI.

THIS day, dear Bec, is thy nativity,
 Had fate a lucky'r one, she'd give it ye:
 She chose a thread of greatest length
 And doubly twisted it for strength;
 Nor will be able with her shears
 To cut it off these forty years.
 Then, who says care will kill a cat?
 Rebecca shews they're out in that:
 For she, tho' over-run with care,
 Continues healthy, fat, and fair.

As, if the gout should seize the head,
 Doctors pronounce the patient dead;
 But, if they can, by all their arts,
 Eject it to th' extreamest parts,
 They give the sick man joy, and praise
 The gout that will prolong his days:
 Rebecca thus I gladly greet,
 Who drives her cares to hands and feet:
 For, tho' philosophers maintain
 The limbs are guided by the brain,
 Quite contrary Rebecca's led,
 Her hands and feet conduct her head,
 By arbitrary pow'r convey her
 She ne'er considers why, or where:
 Her hands may meddle, feet may wander,
 Her head is but a mere by-stander:
 And all her bustling but supplies
 The part of wholesome exercise:
 Thus, nature hath resolv'd to pay her
 The cat's nine lives and eke the care.

Long may she live, and help her friends
 Whene'er it suits her private ends;
 Domestic business never mind
 'Till coffee has her stomach lin'd;
 But, when her breakfast gives her courage,
 Then, think on Stella's chicken porridge;
 I mean when Tyger* has been serv'd,
 Or else poor Stella may be starv'd.

May Bec have many an evening nap
 With Tyger slabb'ring in her lap;
 But always take a special care
 She does not overset the chair;
 Still be she curious, never hearken
 To any speech but Tyger's barking.

And, when she's in another scene,
 Stella long dead, but first the Dean,
 May Fortune and her coffee get her
 Companions that will please her better;
 Whole afternoons will sit beside her,
 Nor for neglects or blunders chide her;
 A goodly set as can be found
 Of hearty gossips prating round;
 Fresh from a wedding, or a christ'ning,
 To teach her ears the art of list'ning,
 And please her more to hear them tattle,
 Than the Dean storm, or Stella rattle.

Late be her death, one gentle nod,
 When Hermes, waiting with his rod,
 Shall to elysian fields invite her,
 Where there will be no cares to fright her.

* Mrs. Dingley's favourite lap-dog. See Verses on him, Vol. VII. part II. p. 114.

MY LADY'S *

LAMENTATION AND COMPLAINT
against the DEAN.

JULY 28, 1728.

SURE never did man see
 A wretch like poor Nancy,
 So teaz'd day and night
 By a Dean and a Knight;
 To punish my fins,
 Sir Arthur begins,
 And gives me a wipe
 With Skinny and Snipe:†
 His malice is plain,
 Hallooing the Dean.
 The Dean never stops,
 When he opens his chops;
 I'm quite over-run
 With rebus and pun.

Before he came here
 To sponge for good cheer,
 I sat with delight,
 From morning till night,
 With two bony thumbs
 Could rub my own gums,
 Or scratching my nose,
 And jogging my toes;
 But at present, forsooth,
 I must not rub a tooth:

* Lady Achefon, wife to Sir Arthur Achefon.

† The Dean used to call her by those names.

When my elbows he fees
 Held up by my knees,
 My arms, like two props,
 Supporting my chops,
 And just as I handle 'em
 Moving all like a pendulum;
 He trips up my props,
 And down my chin drops,
 From my head to my heels,
 Like a clock without wheels;
 I sink in the spleen,
 An useless machine.

If he had his will,
 I should never fit still:
 He comes with his whims,
 I must move my limbs;
 I cannot be sweet
 Without using my feet;
 To lengthen my breath
 He tires me to death.
 By the worst of all Squires,
 Thro' bogs and thro' briers,
 Where a cow would be startled,
 I'm in spite of my heart led:
 And, say what I will,
 Haul'd up ev'ry hill;
 'Till, daggled and ratter'd,
 My spirit's quite shatter'd,
 I return home at night,
 And fast out of spite:
 For I'd rather be dead,
 Than it e'er should be said
 I was better for him,
 In stomach or limb.

But,

SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

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But, now to my diet,
No eating in quiet,
He's still finding fault,
Too sour or too salt:
The wing of a chick
I hardly can pick,
But trash without measure
I swallow with pleasure.

Next, for his diversion,
He rails at my person:
What court-breeding this is?
He takes me to pieces.
From shoulder to flank
I'm lean and am lank;
My nose, long and thin,
Grows down to my chin;
My chin will not stay,
But meets it half way:
My fingers, prolix,
Are ten crooked sticks:
He swears my el---bows
Are two iron crows,
Or sharp pointed rocks,
And wear out my smocks:
To 'scape them, Sir Arthur
Is forc'd to lie farther,
Or his sides they would gore
Like the tusk of a boar.

Now, changing the scene,
But still to the Dean:
He loves to be bitter at
A lady illiterate;

If he sees her but once,
 He'll swear she's a dunce;
 Can tell by her looks
 A hater of books:
 Thro' each line of her face
 Her folly can trace;
 Which spoils ev'ry feature
 Bestow'd her by nature;
 But sense gives a grace
 To the homeliest face:
 Wife books and reflexion
 Will mend the complexion:
 (A civil Divine!
 I suppose meaning mine.)
 No Lady who wants them
 Can ever be handsome.

I guess well enough
 What he means by this stuff:
 He haws and he hums,
 At last out it comes.

What, Madam? No walking,
 No reading, nor talking?
 You're now in your prime,
 Make use of your time.
 Consider, before
 You come to threescore,
 How the hussies will flee
 Where'er you appear:
 That silly old pufs
 Would fain be like us,
 What a figure she made
 In her tarnish'd brocade!

And

And then he grows mild:
Come, be a good child:
If you are inclin'd
To polish your mind,
Be ador'd by the men
'Till threescore and ten,
And kill with the spleen
The jades of sixteen,
I'll shew you the way:
Read six hours a-day.
The wits will frequent ye,
And think you but twenty.

Thus was I drawn in,
Forgive me my sin.
At breakfast he'll ask
An account of my task.
Put a word out of joint,
Or miss but a point,
He rages and frets,
His manners forgets;
And, as I am serious,
Is very imperious.
No book for delight
Must come in my sight;
But, instead of new plays,
Dull Bacon's Effays,
And pore ev'ry day on
That nasty Pantheon.
If I be not a drudge,
Let all the world judge.
'Twere better be blind,
Than thus be confin'd.

But,

But, while in an ill tone,
I murder poor Milton,
The Dean, you will swear,
Is at study or pray'r.
He's all the day faunt'ring,
With labourers bantring,
Among his colleagues,
A parcel of Teagues,
(Whom he brings in among us
And bribes with mundungus.)
Hail fellow, well met,
All dirty and wet:
Find out, if you can,
Who's master, who's man;
Who makes the best figure,
The Dean or the digger;
And which is the best
At cracking a jest.
How proudly he talks
Of zigzacks and walks;
And all the day raves
Of cradles and caves;
And boasts of his feats,
His grottos and feats;
Shews all his gew—gaws,
And gapes for applause?
A fine occupation
For one in his station!
A hole where a rabbit
Would scorn to inhabit,
Dug out in an hour,
He calls it a bow'r.

But,

But, Oh, how we laugh,
To see a wild calf
Come, driven by heat,
And foul the green feat;
Or run helter-skelter
To his arbor for shelter,
Where all goes to ruin
The Dean has been doing:
The girls of the village
Come flocking for pillage,
Pull down the fine briers,
And thorns, to make fires;
But yet are so kind
To leave something behind:
No more need be said on't,
I smell when I tread on't.

Dear friend, Doctor Jenny,
If I could but win ye,
Or Walmley or Whaley,
To come hither daily,
Since Fortune, my foe,
Will needs have it so,
That I'm, by her frowns,
Condemn'd to black gowns;
No 'Squire to be found
The neighbourhood round,
(For, under the rose,
I would rather chuse those:)
If your wives will permit ye,
Come here out of pity,

To ease a poor Lady,
 And beg her a play-day.
 So may you be seen
 No more in the spleen;
 May Walmley give wine,
 Like a hearty divine;
 May Whaley disgrace
 Dull Daniel's whey-face;
 And may your three spouses
 Let you lie at friends houses.



TO

D E A N S W I F T.

By Sir ARTHUR ACHESON.

Written in the Year M DCC XXVIII.

GOOD cause have I to sing and vapour,
For I am landlord to the Drapier:
He, that of ev'ry ear's the charmer,
Now condescends to be my farmer,
And grace my villa with his strains;
Lives such a Bard on British plains?
No; not in all the British Court;
For none but witlings there resort,
Whose names and works (tho' dead) are made
Immortal by the Dunciad;
And sure, as monument of brass,
Their fame to future times shall pass,
How, with a weakly warbling tongue,
Of Brazen Knight they vainly sung:
A subject for their genius fit;
He dares defy both sense and wit.
What dares he not? He can, we know it,
A laureat make that is no poet;
A judge, without the least pretence
To common law, or common sense;
A bishop that is no divine;
And coxcombs in red ribbons shine:

(B b 2)

Nay,

Nay, he can make what's greater far,
 A middle-state 'twixt peace and war;
 And say, there shall, for years together,
 Be peace and war, and both, and neither.
 Happy, O Market-hill! at least,
 That court and courtiers have no taste:
 You never else had known the Dean,
 But, as of old, obscurely lain;
 All things gone on the same dull track,
 And Drapier's-hill been still Drumlack;
 But now your name with Penhurst vies,
 And wing'd with fame shall reach the skies.



THE
DEAN'S REASONS

FOR

Not BUILDING at DRAPIER'S HILL.*

I WILL not build on yonder mount:
And, should you call me to account,
Consulting with myself, I find,
It was no levity of mind.
Whate'er I promis'd or intended,
No fault of mine, the scheme is ended:
Nor can you tax me as unsteady,
I have a hundred causes ready:
All risen since that flatt'ring time,
When Drapier's-hill appear'd in rhyme.

I am, as now too late I find,
The greatest cully of mankind:
The lowest boy in Martin's school
May turn and wind me like a fool.
How could I form so wild a vision,
To seek, in deserts, Fields Elysian?
To live in fear, suspicion, variance,
With Thieves, Fanatics, and Barbarians?

But here my Lady will object;
Your Deanship ought to recollect,
That, near the Knight of Gosford † plac'd,
Whom you allow a man of taste,

* See Note, Vol. IV. part I. p. 102.

† Sir Arthur Acheson's Great-grandfather was Sir Archibald of Gosford,
in Scotland.

Your intervals of time to spend
 With so conversible a friend,
 It would not signify a pin
 Whatever climate you were in.

'Tis true, but what advantage comes
 To me from all a us'rer's plumbs;
 Though I should see him twice a day,
 And am his neighbour cross the way;
 If all my rhetoric must fail
 To strike him for a pot of ale?

Thus, when the learned and the wife
 Conceal their talents from our eyes,
 And, from deserving friends, with-hold
 Their gifts, as misers do their gold;
 Their knowledge, to themselves confin'd,
 Is the same avarice of mind:
 Nor makes their conversation better,
 Than if they never knew a letter.
 Such is the fate of Gosford's Knight,
 Who keeps his wisdom out of sight;
 Whose uncommunicative heart,
 Will scarce one precious word impart:
 Still rapt in speculations deep,
 His outward senses fast asleep;
 Who, while I talk, a song will hum,
 Or, with his fingers, beat the drum;
 Beyond the skies transports his mind,
 And leaves a lifeless corpse behind.

But, as for me, who ne'er could clamber high,
 To understand Malebranche or Cambray;
 Who send my mind (as I believe) less
 Than others do, on errands sleeveless;

Can listen to a tale humdrum,
 And, with attention, read Tom Thumb;
 My spirits with my body propping,
 Both hand in hand together jogging;
 Sunk over head and ears in matter,
 Nor can of metaphysics smatter;
 Am more diverted with a quibble
 Than dreams of worlds intelligible;
 And think all notions too abstracted
 Are like the ravings of a crackt head;
 What intercourse of minds can be
 Betwixt the Knight sublime and me?
 If when I talk, as talk I must,
 It is but prating to a bust.

Where friendship is by Fate design'd,
 It forms an union in the mind:
 But, here I differ from the Knight
 In every point, like black and white:
 For, none can say that ever yet
 We both in one opinion met:
 Not in philosophy, or ale,
 In state-affairs, or planting cale;
 In rhetoric, or picking straws;
 In roasting larks, or making laws:
 In public schemes, or catching flies,
 In parliaments, or pudding-pies.

The neighbours wonder why the Knight
 Should in a country life delight,
 Who not one pleasure entertains
 To chear the solitary scenes:
 His guests are few, his visits rare,
 Nor uses time, nor time will spare;

Nor

Nor rides, nor walks, nor hunts, nor fowls,
 Nor plays at cards, or dice, or bowls;
 But, seated in an easy chair,
 Despises exercise and air.
 His rural walks he ne'er adorns;
 Here poor Pomona sits on thorns:
 And there neglected Flora settles
 Her bum upon a bed of nettles.

Those thankless and officious cares
 I use to take in friends affairs,
 From which I never could refrain,
 And have been often chid in vain:
 From these I am recover'd quite,
 At least in what regards the Knight.
 Preserve his health, his store increase;
 May nothing interrupt his peace.
 But now, let all his tenants round
 First milk his cows, and after, pound:
 Let ev'ry cottager conspire
 To cut his hedges down for fire;
 The naughty boys about the village
 His crabs and flocks may freely pillage:
 He still may keep a pack of knaves
 To spoil his work, and work by halves:
 His meadows may be dug by swine,
 It shall be no concern of mine.
 For, why should I continue still
 To serve a friend against his will?

DAPHNE.

DAPHNE knows, with equal ease,
 How to vex and how to please;
 But, the folly of her sex
 Makes her sole delight to vex.
 Never woman more devis'd
 Surer ways to be despis'd:
 Paradoxes weakly wielding,
 Always conquer'd, never yielding.
 To dispute, her chief delight;
 With not one opinion right:
 Thick her arguments she lays on,
 And with cavils combats reason:
 Answers in decisive way,
 Never hears what you can say:
 Still her odd perverseness shows
 Chiefly where she nothing knows.
 And where she is most familiar,
 Always peevisher and sillier:
 All her spirits in a flame
 When she knows she's most to blame.

Send me hence ten thousand miles,
 From a face that always smiles:
 None could ever act that part,
 But a Fury in her heart.
 Ye who hate such inconsistency,
 To be easy keep your distance;
 Or in folly still befriend her,
 But have no concern to mend her.
 Lose not time to contradict her,
 Nor endeavour to convict her.

Never take it in your thought,
That she'll own, or cure a fault.
Into contradiction warm her,
Then, perhaps, you may reform her:
Only take this rule along,
Always to advise her wrong;
And reprove her when she's right;
She may then grow wise for spight.

No—that scheme will ne'er succeed,
She has better learnt her creed:
She's too cunning, and too skilful,
When to yield, and when be willful.
Nature holds her forth two mirrors,
One for truth, and one for errors:
That looks hideous, fierce, and frightful;
This is flatt'ring, and delightful:
That she throws away as foul;
Sits by this, to dress her soul.

Thus you have the case in view,
Daphne, 'twixt the Dean and you;
Heav'n forbid he should despise thee;
But will never more advise thee.



ROBIN and HARRY.*

ROBIN, to beggars, with a curse,
 Throws the last shilling in his purse;
 And, when the coachman comes for pay,
 The rogue must call another day.

Grave Harry, when the poor are pressing,
 Gives them a penny, and God's blessing;
 But, always careful of the main,
 With two-pence left, walks home in rain.

Robin, from noon to night, will prate,
 Runs out in tongue, as in estate;
 And, ere a twelvemonth and a day,
 Will not have one new thing to say.
 Much talking is not Harry's vice;
 He need not tell a story twice;
 And, if he always be so thrifty,
 His fund may last to five and fifty.

It so fell out, that cautious Harry,
 As soldiers use, for love must marry,
 And, with his Dame, the ocean cross,
 All for Love, or the World well Lost.
 Repairs a cabin gone to ruin,
 Just big enough to shelter two in;
 And in his house, if any body come,
 Will make them welcome to his modicum.

* These gentlemen were sons of the famous Dr. Lestie, and one of them was a colonel in the Spanish service. See Vol. IV. part I. p. 119.

Where Goody Julia milks the cows,
And boils potatoes for her spouse;
Or darns his hose, or mends his breeches,
While Harry's fencing up his ditches.

Robin, who ne'er his mind could fix
To live without a coach and fix,
To patch his broken fortunes, found
A mistress worth five thousand pound;
Swears he could get her in an hour,
If Gaffer Harry would endow her;
And sell, to pacify his wrath,
A birth-right for a mess of broth.

Young Harry, as all Europe knows,
Was long the quintessence of beaux;
But, when espous'd, he ran the fate
That must attend the marry'd state;
From gold brocade and shining armour,
Was metamorphos'd to a farmer;
His grazier's coat with dirt besmear'd,
Nor twice a week will shave his beard.

Old Robin, all his youth a sloven,
At fifty-two, when he grew loving,
Clad in a coat of paduasoy,
A flaxen wig, and waistcoat gay,
Powder'd from shoulder down to flank,
In courtly style addresses Frank;
Twice ten years older than his wife,
Is doom'd to be a beau for life:
Supplying those defects by dress,
Which I must leave the world to guess.

SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

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THE
FIVE LADIES ANSWER
TO THE

BEAU with the WIG and WINGS at his Head. *

YOU little scribbling Beau,
What Dæmon made you write?
Because to write you know
As much as you can fight.

For compliment so scurvy,
I wish we had you here;
We'd turn you topsy-turvy
Into a mug of beer.

You thought to make a farce on
The man and place we chose;
We're fure a single Parson
Is worth a hundred Beaux.

And you would make us vassals,
Good Mr. Wig and Wings,
To filver-clocks and tassels;
You wou'd, you Thing of Things!

Because around your cane
A ring of diamonds is fet;
And you, in some bye-lane,
Have gain'd a paultry grizette:

* See a poem on the Five Ladies at Sots-Hole, Vol. IV. part I. p. 31, to which this poem is an answer.

Shall we, of sense refin'd,
Your trifling nonsense bear,
As noisy as the wind,
As empty as the air?

We hate your empty prattle,
And vow and swear 'tis true;
There's more in one child's rattle
Than twenty fops like you.



THE
BEAU'S REPLY

TO THE
FIVE LADIES ANSWER.

WHY, how now dapper Black,
I smell your gown and cassock,
As strong upon your back,
As Tifdal smells of a sock.

To write such scurvy stuff!
Fine Ladies never do't;
I know you well enough,
And eke your cloven foot.

Fine Ladies, when they write,
Nor scold, nor keep a splutter:
Their verses give delight,
As soft and sweet as butter.

But Satan never saw
Such haggard lines as these:
They stick athwart my maw,
As bad as Suffolk-cheese.



A LET-

A

LETTER

FROM

Dr. SHERIDAN to Dr. SWIFT.

I'D have you to know, as sure as you're Dean,
 On Thursday my cask of Obrien I'll drain:
 If my wife is not willing, I say she's a quean,
 And my right to the cellar, I Gad I'll maintain
 As bravely as any that fought at Dunblain:
 Go tell her it over and over again.
 I hope, as I ride to the town, it won't rain;
 For, should it, I fear it will cool my hot brain,
 Intirely extinguish my poetic vein;
 And then I should be as stupid as Kain,
 Who preach'd on three heads, tho' he mention'd but twain.
 Now Wardel's in haste, and begins to complain;
 Your most humble servant, Dear Sir, I remain,

T. S——N.

Get Helfham, Walmisley, Delany,
 And some Grattans, if there be any*,
 Take care you do not bid too many.

* i. e. In Dublin, for they were country-clergy, living near the city.

Dr.

Dr. SWIFT'S ANSWER

DOCTOR SHERIDAN.

THE verses you sent on the bottling your wine
 Were, in ev'ry one's judgment, exceedingly fine ;
 And I must confess, as a Dean and divine,
 I think you inspir'd by the Muses all nine.
 I nicely examin'd them ev'ry line,
 And the worst of them all, like a barn-door, did shine.
 Oh, that Jove would give me such a talent as thine !
 With Delany or Dan I would scorn to combine :
 I know they have many a wicked design ;
 And, give Satan his due, Dan begins to refine.
 However, I wish, honest comrade of mine,
 You would really on Thursday leave St. Catherine *,
 Where I hear you are cramm'd ev'ry day like a swine.
 With me you'll no more have a stomach to dine,
 Nor, after your vittles lie sleeping supine :
 So I wish you were toothless, like Lord Mafferine.
 But, were you as wicked as leud Aretine,
 I wish you would tell me which way you incline.
 If, when you return, your road you don't line,
 On Thursday I'll pay my respects at your shrine,
 Wherever you bend, wherever you twine,
 In square, or in opposite circle, or trine.
 Your beef will on Thursday be saltier than brine :
 I hope you have swill'd, with new milk from the kine,
 As much as the Liffec's outdone by the Rhine ;

* St. Catherine's, the seat of Lady Mountcasser, about six miles from Dublin.

And Dan shall be with us, with nose aquiline.
 If you do not come back, we shall weep out our eyn,
 Or may your gown never be good Lutherine.
 The beef you have got, I hear, is a chine:
 But, if too many come, your Madam will whine;
 And then you may kiss the low end of her spine.
 But enough of this Poetry Alexandrine:
 I hope you will not think this a Pasquine.



THE verses you sent on the postage your witnes.
 Were, in ev'ry one's judgment, exceedingly fine.
 And I must confess, as a Dean and divine,
 I think you inspired by the Muses all mine.
 I nicely examined them ev'ry line,
 And the worst of them all, like a barn-door, did find.
 Oh, that Jove would give me
 With Delany or Dan I
 I know they have
 And, give Satan
 However, I wish
 You would really
 Where I hear you are
 With me you'll no more
 Nor, after your vintages be
 So I wish you were
 But were you as wicked as I
 I wish you would tell me which way you incline.
 If, when you return, you read your dome's line,
 On Thursday I'll pay my respects at your shrine;
 Whichever you bend, whether you twine, or say
 In rhyme, or in opposite circle, or line.
 Your beef will on Thursday be fatter than mine;
 I hope you have twill'd, with new milk from the kine,
 As much as the Lifford's outdone by the Rhine.

APOR- the first of Lady Mounseley, about six miles from Dublin.

And

(D 4)

Vol. VII.

A PORTRAIT from the LIFE.

COME sit by my side, while this picture I draw:

In chatt'ring a magpie, in pride a jackdaw;

A temper the Devil himself could not bridle,

Impertinent mixture of busy and idle.

As rude as a bear, no mule half so crabbed;

She swills like a sow, and she breeds like a rabbit:

A house-wife in bed, at table a flatterer;

For all an example, for no one a pattern.

Now tell me, friend Thomas*, Ford†, Grattan‡, and merry Dan§,

Has this any likeness to good Madam Sheridan?

* Doctor Thomas Sheridan.

† Charles Ford of Woodpark, Esq.

‡ Reverend John Grattan.

§ Reverend Daniel Jackson.



THE

DEAN AND DUKE.

J—s B—s and the Dean had long been friends ;
 James is beduk'd ; of course their friendship ends.
 But sure the Dean deserves a sharp rebuke,
 From knowing James, to boast he knows the Duke.
 Yet, since just Heav'n the Duke's ambition mocks,
 Since all he got by fraud is lost by stocks,
 His wings are clipp'd, he tries no more in vain,
 With bands of fiddlers to extend his train.
 Since he no more can build, and plant, and revel,
 The Duke and Dean seem near upon a level.
 Oh! wert thou not a Duke, my good Duke Humphry,
 From bailiffs' claws thou scarce couldst keep thy bum free.
 A Duke to know a Dean ! Go, smooth thy crown :
 Thy brother (far thy betters) wore a gown.
 Well, but a Duke thou art ; so pleas'd the King :
 Oh! would his Majesty but add a string.

* See an Epigram, Vol. IV, part I, p. 286.



▲

SATIRICAL ELEGY

On the DEATH of a late

FAMOUS GENERAL.

HIS Grace! impossible! what dead!
 Of old age too, and in his bed!
 And could that Mighty Warrior fall?
 And so inglorious, after all!
 Well, since he's gone, no matter how,
 The last loud trump must wake him now:
 And, trust me, as the noise grows stronger,
 He'd wish to sleep a little longer.
 And could he be indeed so old
 As by the news-papers we're told?
 Threescore, I think, is pretty high;
 'Twas time in conscience he should die.
 This world he lumber'd long enough;
 He burnt his candle to the snuff;
 And that's the reason, some folks think,
 He left behind *so great a snuff*.
 Behold his funeral appears,
 Nor widow's sighs, nor orphan's tears,
 Wont at such times each heart to pierce,
 Attend the progress of his hearse.
 But what of that, his friends may say,
 He had those honours in his day.
 True to his profit and his pride,
 He made them weep before he dy'd.

Come hither, all ye empty things,
 Ye bubbles rais'd by breath of Kings;
 Who float upon the tide of state,
 Come hither, and behold your fate.
 Let pride be taught by this rebuke,
 How very mean a thing's a Duke;
 From all his ill-got honours flung,
 Turn'd to that dirt from whence he sprung.



He made them weep before he dy'd.
 True to his grief and his pride.
 He had these honours in his day.
 But what of that, his friends may say.
 Attend the progress of his life.
 Wont at such times each heart to pierce.
 Not widow's sighs, nor orphan's tears.
 Behold his funeral app'ar.
 He left behind a grave.
 And that's the rest of his story.
 He burnt his candle at both ends.
 'Twas thus he spent his time.
 As by the poet's pen is seen.
 And could he be so wise,
 He'd wish to keep his honours.
 And thus the story ends.

A N T

E P I T A P H

O N

GENERAL G****S and LADY M****TH.

UNDER this stone lie Dicky and Dolly;
 Doll dying first, Dick grew melancholy;
 For Dick without Doll thought living a folly.

Dick lost in Doll a wife tender and dear,
 But Dick lost by Doll twelve hundred a year,
 A loss that Dick thought no mortal could bear.

Dick sigh'd for his Doll, and his mournful arms crost;
 Thought much of his Doll, and the jointure he lost:
 The first vex'd him much, the other vex'd most.

Thus loaded with grief, Dick sigh'd and he cry'd;
 To live without both full three days he try'd:
 But lik'd neither loss, and so quietly dy'd.

Dick left a pattern few will copy after:
 Then, reader, pray shed some tears of salt water;
 For so sad a tale is no subject of laughter.

M---th smiles for the jointure, tho' gotten so late;
 The son laughs that got the hard-gotten estate;
 And † Cuff grins, for getting the Alicant plate.

Here quiet they lie, in hopes to rise one day,
 Both solemnly put in this hole on a Sunday,
 And here rest; *sic transit gloria mundi.*

† General G—s's son-in-law.

THE
PHEASANT and the LARK.

A F A B L E.

By Dr. DELANY.

— *Quis inique*
Tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se?

JUVENAL.

IN antient times, as bards indite,
(If clerks have con'd the records right)
A Peacock reign'd, whose glorious sway
His subjects with delight obey;
His tail was beauteous to behold,
Replete with goodly eyes and gold,
(Fair emblem of that Monarch's guise,
Whose train at once is rich and wise)
And princely rul'd he many regions,
And statesmen wise, and valiant legions.

A Pheasant Lord *, above the rest,
With ev'ry grace and talent blest,
Was sent to sway, with all his skill,
The scepter of a neighb'ring Hill †;
No science was to him unknown,
For all the Arts were all his own:
In all the living learned read,
Tho' more delighted with the dead:

* Lord Carteret, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

† Ireland.

For birds, if antient Tales say true,
 Had then their Popes and Homers too,
 Cou'd read and write in prose and verse,
 And speak like ***, and build like † Pearce.
 He knew their voices, and their wings,
 Who smoothest soars, who sweetest sings;
 Who toils with ill-fledg'd pens to climb,
 And who attain'd the true sublime:
 Their merits he could well descry,
 He had so exquisite an eye;
 And when that fail'd, to shew them clear,
 He had as exquisite an ear.
 It chanc'd as on a day he stray'd,
 Beneath an Academic shade,
 He lik'd, amidst a thousand throats,
 The wildness of a ‡ Woodlark's notes,
 And search'd, and spy'd, and seiz'd his game,
 And took him home, and made him tame;
 Found him on trial true and able,
 So cheer'd and fed him at his table.

Here some shrewd critic finds I'm caught,
 And cries out, *Better fed than taught* —
 Then jests on Game and Tame, and reads
 And jests, and so my Tale proceeds.

Long had he study'd in the Wood,
 Conversing with the wife and good;
 His soul with harmony inspir'd,
 With love of truth and virtue fir'd:
 His Brethren's good and Maker's praise,
 Were all the study of his lays;

† A famous modern architect.

‡ Dr. D——y.

Were all his study in retreat,
 And now employ'd him with the Great.
 His friendship was the sure resort
 Of all the wretched at the Court;
 But chiefly merit in distress
 His greatest blessing was to bless. —

This fix'd him in his Patron's breast,
 But fir'd with Envy all the rest:
 I mean that noisy craving crew,
 Who round the Court incessant flew,
 And prey'd like rooks, by pairs and dozens,
 To fill the maws of sons and cousins:
 "Unmov'd their heart, and chill'd their blood,
 "To ev'ry thought of common good,
 "Confining ev'ry hope and care"
 To their own low contracted sphere.
 These ran him down with ceaseless cry,
 But found it hard to tell you why,
 'Till his own worth and wit supply'd
 Sufficient matter to deride:
 " 'Tis Envy's safest, surest rule,
 "To hide her rage in ridicule:
 "The vulgar eye she best beguiles,
 "When all her snakes are deck'd with smiles:"
 Sardonic smiles, by Rancour rais'd!
 "Tormented most when seeming pleas'd!"
 Their spight had more than half expir'd,
 Had he not wrote what all admir'd;
 What morsels had their malice wanted,
 But that he built, and plann'd, and planted!
 How had his sense and learning griev'd 'em,
 But that his charity reliev'd 'em!

" At

SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

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" At highest Worth dull Malice reaches,
" As flugs pollute the fairest peaches :
" Envy defames, as Harpies vile
" Devour the food they first defile."

Now ask the fruit of all his favour ——
" He was not hitherto a faver" ----
What then could make their rage run mad?
" Why what he *hop'd*, not what he had.

" What tyrant e'er invented ropes,
" Or racks, or rods, to punish hopes ?
" Th' inheritance of Hope and Fame
" Is seldom earthly Wisdom's aim ;
" Or, if it were, is not so small,
" But there is room enough for all."

If he but chance to breathe a song
(He seldom sang, and never long)
The noisy, rude, malignant croud,
Where it was high, pronounc'd it loud:
Plain Truth was Pride, and what was sillier,
Easy and Friendly was Familiar.

Or if he tun'd his lofty lays,
With solemn air to Virtue's praise,
Alike abusive and erroneous,
They call'd it Hoarse and Unharmonious:
Yet so it was to souls like theirs,
Tuneless as Abel to the Bears !

A * Rook with harsh malignant caw
 Began, was follow'd by a † Daw ;
 (Tho' some, who would be thought to know,
 Are positive it was a Crow)
 Jack Daw was seconded by Tit,
 Tom Tit ‡ could write, and so he writ:
 A tribe of tuneless Praters follow,
 The Jay, the Magpie, and the Swallow,
 And twenty more their throats let loose,
 Down to the witless waddling Goose.

Some pick'd at him, some flew, some flutter'd,
 Some hiss'd, some scream'd, and others mutter'd ;
 The Crow, on carrion went to feast,
 The Carrion Crow condemn'd his taste:
 The Rook in earnest too, not joking,
 Swore all his fingering was but croaking.

Some thought they meant to shew their wit,
 Might think so still, — " but that they writ " —
 Could it be spite or envy ; — " No —
 " Who did no ill, could have no foe. " —
 So Wise Simplicity esteem'd,
 Quite otherwise True Wisdom deem'd ;
 This question rightly understood,
 " What more provokes than doing good?
 " A soul ennobled and refin'd,
 " Reproaches ev'ry baser mind:
 " As strains exalted and melodious
 " Make every meaner music odious. " —

* Doctor T——r.

† Right Honourable R—— T——gh, Esq;

‡ Doctor Sh——d——n.

At length the * Nightingale was heard,
For Voice and Wisdom long rever'd,
Esteem'd of all the wise and good,
The Guardian Genius of the wood:
He long in discontent retir'd,
Yet not obscur'd, but more admir'd,
His Brethren's servile souls disdaining,
He liv'd indignant and complaining:
They now afresh provoke his choler,
It seems the Lark had been his scholar,
A fav'rite scholar always near him,
And oft had wak'd whole nights to hear him:
Enrag'd he canvasses the matter,
Exposes all their senseless chatter,
Shews him and them in such a light,
As more enflames, yet quells their spight:
They hear his voice, and frighted fly,
For rage had rais'd it very high:
Sham'd by the wisdom of his Notes,
They hide their heads, and hush their throats.

* Dean Swift.



A N
A N S W E R

T O

Doctor DELANY's FABLE

OF THE

PHEASANT and the LARK.

Written in the Year MDCCXXX.

IN antient times the wife were able,
 In proper terms, to write a fable:
 Their tales would always justly suit
 The characters of ev'ry brute.
 The ass was dull, the lion brave,
 The stag was swift, the fox a knave;
 The daw a thief, the ape a droll,
 The hound wou'd scent, the wolf wou'd prole;
 A pigeon wou'd, if shown by Æsop,
 Fly from the hawk, or pick his pease up.
 Far otherwise a great Divine
 Has learnt his Fables to refine:
 He jumbles men and birds together,
 As if they all were of a feather:
 You see him first the peacock bring,
 Against all rules, to be a king;
 That in his tail he wore his eyes,
 By which he grew both rich and wise.
 Now, pray, observe the Doctor's choice,
 A peacock chose for flight and voice:

Did

Did ever mortal see a peacock
Attempt a flight above a haycock?
And for his singing, Doctor, you know,
Himself complain'd of it to Juno.
He squeals in such a hellish noise,
It frightens all the village boys.
This peacock kept a standing force,
In regiments of foot and horse;
Had statesmen too of ev'ry kind,
Who waited on his eyes behind.
(And this was thought the highest post;
For, rule the Rump, you rule the roast.)
The Doctor names but one at present,
And he of all birds was a pheasant.
This Pheasant was a man of wit,
Cou'd read all books were ever writ;
And, when among companions privy,
Could quote you Cicero and Livy.
Birds, as he says, and I allow,
Were scholars then, as we are now;
Could read all volumes up to folios;
And feed on fricassees and olios.
This Pheasant, by the Peacock's will,
Was Viceroy of a neighbouring hill;
And, as he wandred in his Park,
He chanc'd to spy a Clergy Lark;
Was taken with his person outward,
So prettily he pick'd a cow-t—d:
Then in a net the Pheasant caught him,
And in his palace fed and taught him.
The moral of the Tale is pleasant,
Himself the lark, my Lord the pheasant:
A lark he is, and such a lark
As never came from Noah's ark:

And tho' he had no other notion,
 But building, planning, and devotion;
 Tho' 'tis a maxim you must know,
 Who does no ill, can have no foe,
 Yet how shall I express in words
 The strange stupidity of birds?
 This Lark was hated in the wood,
 Because he did his brethren good.
 At last the Nightingale comes in,
 To hold the Doctor by the chin:
 We all can find out whom he means,
 The worst of disaffected Deans:
 Whose wit at best was next to none,
 And now that little next is gone.
 Against the Court is always blabbing,
 And calls the Senate-House a Cabbin;
 So dull, that but for spleen and spite,
 We ne'er shou'd know that he could write:
 Who thinks the nation always err'd,
 Because himself is not preferr'd:
 His heart is thro' his Libel * seen,
 Nor could his malice spare the Q--n;
 Who, had she known his vile behaviour,
 Would ne'er have shown him so much favour.
 A Noble † Lord hath told his pranks,
 And well deserves the nation's thanks.
 O would the Senate deign to show
 Resentment on this public Foe;
 Our Nightingale might fit a cage,
 There let him starve, and vent his rage.
 Or would they but in fetters bind,
 This enemy of human-kind.

* Vide a Libel on Dr. Delany and Lord Carteret, Vol. IV. part I. p. 94.

† Lord Allen, the same who is meant by Traulus. Vide Vol. IV. part I. p. 122.

Harmonious Coffee * show thy zeal,
 Thou champion for the common-weal:
 Nor on a theme like this repine,
 For once to wet thy pen divine:
 Bestow that Libeller a lash,
 Who daily vends seditious trash:
 Who dares revile the nation's wisdom,
 But in the praise of virtue is dumb:
 That Scribler lash, who neither knows
 The turn of verse, nor style of prose;
 Whose malice, for the worst † of ends,
 Wou'd have us lose our ENGLISH friends.
 Who never had one public thought,
 Nor ever gave the poor a groat.
 One clincher more, and I have done,
 I end my labours with a pun.
 Jove send this Nightingale may fall,
 Who spends his day and *Night in gall*.
 So Nightingale and Lark, adieu;
 I see the greatest owls in you
 That ever screecht or ever *flew*.

* A Dublin Garrettee.

† Vide Vol. IV. part I. p. 29. A new Song on a seditious pamphlet.



THE
PROGRESS OF MARRIAGE.

ÆTATIS SUE fifty-two,
A rich Divine began to woo
A handsome, young, imperious girl,
Nearly related to an Earl.
Her parents and her friends consent,
The couple to the temple went:
They first invite the Cyprian Queen;
'Twas answer'd, She would not be seen:
The Graces next, and all the Muses
Were bid in form, but sent excuses.
Juno attended at the porch,
With farthing candle for a torch,
While Mistress Iris held her train,
The faded bow distilling rain.
Then Hebe came, and took her place,
But shew'd no more than half her face.

Whate'er those dire forebodings meant,
In mirth the wedding-day was spent;
The wedding-day, you take me right,
I promise nothing for the night.
The Bridegroom dress'd, to make a figure
Assumes an artificial vigour;
A flourish'd night-cap on, to grace
His ruddy, wrinkled, smiling face;
Like the faint red upon a pippin,
Half wither'd by a winter's keeping.

And thus set out this happy pair,
The Swain is rich, the Nymph is fair;

But, what I gladly would forget,
The Swain is old, the Nymph coquette.
Both from the goal together start;
Scarce run a step before they part;
No common ligament that binds
The various textures of their minds;
Their thoughts and actions, hopes and fears,
Less corresponding than their years.
Her spouse desires his coffee soon,
She rises to her tea at noon.
While he goes out to cheapen books,
She at the glass consults her looks;
While Betty's buzzing in her ear,
Lord, what a drefs these parsons wear!
So odd a choice how could she make?
Wist him a Col'nel for her sake.
Then, on her fingers ends, she counts,
Exact, to what his age amounts.
The Dean, she heard her uncle say,
Is sixty, if he be a day;
His ruddy cheeks are no disguise;
You see the crows' feet round his eyes.

At one she rambles to the shops,
To cheapen tea, and talk with fops;
Or calls a council of her maids,
And tradesmen, to compare brocades.
Her weighty morning bus'ness o'er,
Sits down to dinner just at four;
Minds nothing that is done or said,
Her ev'ning work so fills her head.
The Dean, who us'd to dine at one,
Is maukish, and his stomach gone;

In thread-bare gown, would scarce a louse hold,
 Looks like the chaplain of his household,
 Beholds her from the chaplain's place
 In French brocades and Flanders lace;
 He wonders what employs her brain,
 But never asks, or asks in vain;
 His mind is full of other cares,
 And, in the sneaking parson's airs,
 Computes, that half a parish dues
 Will hardly find his wife in shoes.

Can'st thou imagine, dull Divine,
 'Twill gain her love to make her fine?
 Hath she no other wants beside?
 You raise desire as well as pride,
 Enticing coxcombs to adore,
 And teach her to despise thee more.

If in her coach she'll condescend
 To place him at the hinder end,
 Her hoop is hoist above his nose,
 His odious gown would soil her cloaths,
 And drops him at the church, to pray,
 While she drives on to see the play.
 He, like an orderly divine,
 Comes home a quarter after nine,
 And meets her hasting to the ball:
 Her chairmen push him from the wall.
 He enters in, and walks up stairs,
 And calls the family to pray'rs;
 Then goes alone to take his rest
 In bed, where he can spare her best.
 At five the footmen make a din,
 Her Ladyship is just come in,

The

The masquerade began at two,
She stole away with much ado;
And shall be chid this afternoon
For leaving company so soon:
She'll say, and she may truly say't,
She can't abide to stay out late.

But now, though scarce a twelvemonth marry'd,
Poor Lady Jane has thrice miscarry'd:
The cause, alas, is quickly guest,
The town has whisper'd round the jest.
Think on some remedy in time,
You find his Rev'ence past his prime,
Already dwindled to a lath;
No other way but try the Bath.

For Venus, rising from the ocean,
Infus'd a strong prolifick potion,
That mixt with Achelaus spring,
The *horned* flood, as poets sing,
Who, with an English beauty smitten,
Ran under ground from Greece to Britain;
The genial virtue with him brought,
And gave the Nymph a plenteous draught;
Then fled, and left his horn behind
For husbands past their youth to find:
The Nymph, who still with passion burn'd,
Was to a boiling fountain turn'd,
Where childless wives croud ev'ry morn
To drink in Achelaus horn.
And here the father often gains
That title by another's pains.

Hither,

Hither, though much against the grain,
 The Dean has carry'd Lady Jane.
 He, for a while, would not consent,
 But vow'd his money all was spent:
 His money spent! a clownish reason!
 And must my Lady slip her season?
 The Doctor, with a double fee,
 Was brib'd to make the Dean agree.

Here all diversions of the place
 Are proper in my Lady's case:
 With which she patiently complies,
 Merely because her friends advise;
 His money and her time employs
 In musick, raffling-rooms, and toys;
 Or, in the *Cross-bath*, seeks an heir,
 Since others oft have found one there:
 Where, if the Dean by chance appears,
 It shames his cassock and his years.
 He keeps his distance in the gallery
 'Till banish'd by some coxcomb's raillery;
 For, 'twould his character expose
 To bathe among the belles and beaux.

So have I seen, within a pen,
 Young ducklings foster'd by a hen;
 But, when let out, they run and muddle,
 As instinct leads them, in a puddle:
 The sober hen, not born to swim,
 With mournful note clucks round the brim.

The Dean, with all his best endeavour,
 Gets not an heir, but gets a fever.

A victim

A victim to the last essays
Of vigor in declining days,
He dies, and leaves his mourning mate
(What could he less?) his whole estate.

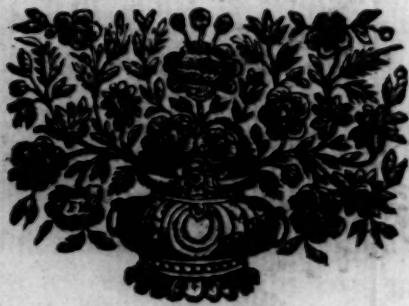
The widow goes through all her forms;
New Lovers now will come in swarms.
Oh, may I see her soon dispensing
Her favours to some broken ensign!
Him let her marry, for his face,
And only coat of tarnisht lace;
To turn her naked out of doors,
And spend her jointure on his whores:
But, for a parting present, leave her
A rooted pox to last for ever.



F A B U L A

C A N I S E T U M B R A.

O RE cibum portans catulus dum spectat in undis,
Apparet liquido prædæ melioris imago:
Dum speciosa diu damna admiratur, et alte
Ad latices inhiat, cadit imo vortice præceps
Ore cibus, nec non simulachrum corripit unâ.
Occupat ille avidus deceptis faucibus umbram;
Illudit species, ac dentibus aëra mordet.



EPIGRAMS.

Written upon a Window in an Inn.

WE fly from luxury and wealth,
To hardships in pursuit of health;
From gen'rous wines and costly fare,
And doting in an easy chair;
Pursue the Goddess Health in vain,
To find her in a country scene,
And ev'ry where her footsteps trace,
And see her marks in ev'ry face;
And still her favourites we meet,
Crouding the roads with naked feet.
But oh! so faintly we pursue,
We ne'er can have her full in view.

Written upon Windows at Inns, in ENGLAND:

THE glafs, by lovers nonsense blurr'd,
Dims and obscures our fight:
So when our passions Love hath stirr'd,
It darkens Reason's light.

Another, written upon a Window where there was
no Writing before.

THANKS to my Stars, I once can see
A window here from scribbling free;
Here no conceited coxcombs pass,
To scratch their paultry drabs on glass;
Nor party-fool is calling names,
Or dealing crowns to *George and James*.

Another at CHESTER.

MY landlord is civil,
But dear as the D—l:
Your pockets grow empty,
With nothing to tempt ye:
The wine is so sour,
’Twill give you a scour:
The beer and the ale
Are mingled with stale.
The veal is such carrion,
A dog would be weary on.
All this I have felt,
For I live on a smelt.

Another, in CHESTER.

THE walls of this Town
Are full of renown,
And strangers delight to walk round ’em:
But, as for the dwellers,
Both buyers and sellers,
For me, you may hang ’em, or drown ’em.

Another,

Another, at HOLYHEAD.*

O Neptune! Neptune! must I still
 Be here detain'd against my will?
 Is this your justice, when I'm come
 Above two hundred miles from home?
 O'er mountains steep, o'er dusty plains,
 Half choak'd with dust, half drown'd with
 rains;
 Only your Godship to implore,
 To let me kiss your other shore?
 A boon so small! But I may weep,
 Whilst you're, like Baal, fast asleep.

* These Verses are signed Y—K—, but written, as it is presumed, in Dr. Swift's hand.



A N

A N S W E R

TO A CERTAIN

DOCTOR'S COMPLAINT.*

DOCTOR.

Deaf, giddy, helpless, left alone;

ANSWER.

Except the first, the fault's your own.

DOCTOR.

To all my friends a burthen grown.

ANSWER.

*Because to few you will be shown.
Give them good wine, and meat to stuff,
You may have company enough.*

DOCTOR.

*No more I hear my church's bell,
Than if it rang out for my knell.*

ANSWER.

Then write and read, 'twill do as well.

DOCTOR.

*At thunder now no more I start,
Than at the rumbling of a cart.*

ANSWER.

Think then of thunder when you f—t.

* This Poem is printed in Vol. IV. part I. p. 318, but without the Answers.

DOCTOR

DOCTOR.

*And what's incredible, alack!
No more I hear a woman's clack.*

ANSWER.

A woman's clack, if I have skill,
Sounds somewhat like a throwster's mill;
But louder than a bell, or thunder:
That does, I own, encrease my wonder.

V E R S E S

O N

I KNOW NOT WHAT.

MY latest tribute here I send,
With this let your collection end.
Thus I consign you down to fame,
A character to praise or blame:
And, if the whole may pass for true,
Contented rest, you have your due.
Give future times the satisfaction,
To leave one handle for detraction.

TO

† TOLAND'S INVITATION
TO DISMAL,

To dine with the CALVES-HEAD-CLUB.

Imitated from HORACE, Epist. V. Lib. I.

A BALLAD.

IF, dearest Dismal, you for once can dine
Upon a single dish and tavern-wine,
Toland to you this invitation sends,
To eat the CALVES-HEAD with your trusty friends:
Suspend a while your vain ambitious hopes,
Leave hunting after bribes, forget your tropes.
To-morrow we our *mystic feast* prepare,
Where thou, our latest *proselyte*, shalt share:
When we, by proper signs and symbols, tell
How, by *brave hands*, the ROYAL TRAITOR fell:
The meat shall represent the TYRANT'S head,
The wine his blood our predecessors shed;

Whilst

SI potes Archæicis conviva recumbere lectis,
Nec modicâ cœnare times olus omne patellâ;
Supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo.

* * * * *

Mitte leves spes, et certamina divitiarum,
Et Moschi causam. Cras nato Cæsare festus
Dat veniam somnumque dies: impune licebit

† This Poem was occasioned by the Lord-Treasurer Oxford's hinting one evening to Dr. Swift, that he wished a ballad was made on the Earl of Nottingham; and, accordingly, the ballad was written and printed the next morning. — And when it was read after dinner, in a large circle, where my Lord Oxford was present, it made the whole company laugh a dozen times. Vide Swift's Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Chap. II. p. 227.

Whilst an *alluding* hymn some artist sings,
 We toast Confusion to the race of kings :
 At monarchy we nobly shew our spite,
 And talk *what fools call treason* all the night.
 Who, by disgraces or ill-fortune sunk,
 Feels not his soul enliven'd when he's drunk ?
 Wine can clear up Godolphin's cloudy face,
 And fill Jack Smith with hopes to keep his place ;
 By force of wine ev'n Scarborough is brave,
 Hal * grows more pert, and Sommers not so grave :
 Wine can give Portland wit, and Cleveland sense,
 Montague learning, Bolton eloquence :
 Cholmondley, when drunk, can never lose his wand,
 And L---n then imagines he has land.

My province is, to see that all be right,
 Glasses and linen clean, and pewter bright;
 From our *mysterious club* to keep out spies,
 And Tories (dressed like waiters) in disguise.
 You shall be coupled as you best approve,
 Seated at table next the men you love.

Sunderland,

Æstivam fermone benigno tendere noctem.

* * * * *

Quid non ebrietas designat? operta recludit;
 Spes jubet esse ratas; in prælia trudit inermem:
 Solicitis animis onus eximit; addocet artes.
 Fœcundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
 Contractâ quem non in paupertate solutum?
 Hæc ego procurare et idoneus imperor, et non
 Invitus; ne turpe toral, ne fordida mappa
 Corruget nares; ne non et cantharus, et lanx,
 Ostendat tibi te; ne fidos inter amicos
 Sit, qui dicta foras eliminet: ut coëat par,
 Jungaturque pari. Brutum tibi, Septimiumque,

* Harry Boyle, who is mentioned three times in this ballad.

Et,

Sunderland, Orford, Boyle, and Richmond's Grace
 Will come; and Hampden shall have Walpole's * place.
 Wharton, unless prevented by a whore,
 Will hardly fail, and there is room for more;
 But I love elbow-room whene'er I drink,
 And honest Harry is too apt to ft-k.

Let no pretence of bus'ness make you stay,
 Yet take one word of counsel by the way.
 If Guernsey † call, send word you're gone abroad,
 He'll tease you with King Charles and Bishop Laud,
 Or make you fast, and carry you to pray'rs:
 But if he will break in, and walk up stairs,
 Steal by the back-door out, and leave him there;
 Then order Squash to call a hackney-chair.

Et, nisi cœna prior, potiorque puella Sabinum
 Detinet, assumam; locus est et pluribus umbris:
 Sed nimis arcta premunt olidæ convivia capræ.
 Tu, quotus esse velis, rescribe; et, rebus omiſſis,
 Atria fervantem postico falle clientem.

* Walpole was then confined in the Tower.

† The Earl of Nottingham's brother.



GEORGE * NIM-DAN-DEAN'S

INVITATION†

T O

Mr. THOMAS SHERIDAN.

Gallstown, August 2d, 1721.

DEAR Tom, this verse, which however the beginning may
appear, yet in the *end's good metre*,

Is sent to desire that, when your August vacation comes, your
friends you'd meet here.

For why should you stay in that filthy hole, I mean the *city so
smoaky*,

When you have not one friend left in town, or at least not one
that's *witty, to joke w'ye?*

For, as for honest John‡, tho' I am not sure on't, yet I'll be *hang'd,*
less he

Be gone down to the county of Wexford with that great peer
the Lord *Anglesey* §.

* In the year 1721, Doctor Swift, Doctor Delany, Doctor Sheridan, Doctor Stopford, the Reverend Dan Jackson, and some other company, spent a great part of the summer at Gallstown, in the county of Westmeath, the seat of George Rochfort, Esq; father to the present Earl of Bellevidere. Many of the gentlemen assembled in this groupe had a genius for poetry, and a taste for the polite arts. In this retirement they passed their hours very agreeably, and frequently amused themselves with poetical jests and whimsies of the brain, which undoubtedly were never designed originally for the press. However, since, by one means or other, several of those ingenious rapid performances have already appeared in some of the former volumes of Doctor Swift's works, it is hoped the two or three following copies of verses, which were communicated to the Editor of these volumes by a gentleman who had them long in his possession, will not meet with an ungracious reception from persons of taste and refinement.

† This Invitation seems to have been the joint composition of George Rochfort, John Rochfort, (who was called Nim, or Nimrod, by Doctor Swift, because he was fond of hunting) Dan Jackson, and Doctor Swift, in a vein of whim and merriment; and, in all probability, was sent off directly by the post to Sheridan.

‡ It is supposed that by *John*, in this passage, is meant Dr. Walmsley.

§ Arthur Earl of Anglesey.

Oh! but I forgot, perhaps, by this time, you may have one come
to town, but I don't know whether he be friend or *foe*, *Delany*:
But, however, if he be come, bring him down, and you shall go
back in a fortnight, for I know there's *no delaying ye*.
Oh! I forgot too, I believe there may be one more, I mean that
great fat joker, *friend Helfham*, *be*
That wrote the Prologue *, and if you stay with him, depend on't,
in the *end*, *he'll sham ye*.
Bring down Long Shanks Jim † too, but now I think on't, he's
not come yet from *Courtown* ‡, *I fancy*;
For I heard, a month ago, that he was down there *a courting Sly*
Nancy.
However, bring down yourself, and you bring down all; for, to
say it *we may venture*,
In thee *Delany's spleen*, *John's mirth*, *Helfham's jokes*, and the
soft soul of amorous *Jemmy center*.

* It was customary with Doctor Sheridan to have a Greek play acted by his head class just before they entered the University; and accordingly, in the year 1720, the Doctor having fixed on Hippolytus, writ a prologue in English, to be spoken by Master Tom Putland, one of the youngest children he had in his school. The prologue was very neat and elegant, but extremely puerile, and quite adapted to the childhood of the speaker, who as regularly was taught, and rehearsed his part, as any of the upper lads did theirs. However, it unfortunately happened, that Doctor King, Archbishop of Dublin, had promised Sheridan that he would go and see his lads perform the tragedy. Upon which Doctor Helfham writ another prologue, wherein he laughed egregiously at Sheridan's, and privately instructed Master Putland how to act his part; and, at the same time, exacted a promise from the child, that no consideration should make him repeat that prologue which he had been taught by Sheridan. When the play was to be acted, the Archbishop attended according to his promise, and Master Putland began Helfham's prologue, and went through it to the amazement of Sheridan; which fired him to such a degree, (although he was one of the best natured men in the world) that he would have entirely put off the play, had it not been in respect to the Archbishop, who was indeed highly complimented in Helfham's performance. When the play was over, the Archbishop was very desirous to hear Sheridan's prologue; but all the entreaties of the Archbishop, the child's father, and Sheridan, could not prevail with Master Putland to repeat it, having, he said, promised faithfully that he would not, upon any account whatever; and therefore insisted that he would keep his word.

† Doctor James Stopford, late bishop of Cloyne.

‡ Courtown, the seat of ——— Hussey, Esq; in the county of Kildare.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

I had forgot to desire you to bring down what I say you have,
and you'll believe me as sure as a *gun*, and *own* it ;
I mean, what no other mortal in the universe can boast of, your
own spirit of *pun*, and *own* wit.
And now I hope you'll excuse this rhyming, which I must say is
(tho' written somewhat at *large*) *trim* and *clean*;
And so I conclude, with humble respects as usual, Your most
dutiful and obedient

George Nim-Dan-Dean.



T O

G E O R G E N I M - D A N - D E A N, Esq;

Upon his incomparable VERSES, &c. of AUGUST 2d, M DCC XXI.

Written by Dr. DELANY, in the Name of THOMAS SHERIDAN.*

HAIL, human compound quadrifarious!
 Invincible as Wight Briareus!
 Hail! doubly doubled mighty merry one,
 Stronger than triple-body'd Geryon!
 O may your Vastness deign t'excuse
 The praises of a puny Muse,
 Unable, in her utmost flight,
 To reach thy huge Colossian height.
 T' attempt to write like thee were frantic;
 Whose lines are, like thyself, gigantic.

Yet let me blefs, in humbler strain,
 Thy vast, thy bold Cambyfian vein,
 Pour'd out t' enrich thy native ifle,
 As Egypt wont to be with Nile.
 Oh how I joy to fee thee wander,
 In many a winding loose meander,
 In circling mazes, fmooth and fupple,
 And ending in a clink quadruple;
 Loud, yet agreeable withal,
 Like rivers rattling in their fall.
 Thine, fure is poetry divine,
 Where wit and majefty combine;

* These verses were all written in circles, one within another, as appears from the observations in the following poem by Dr. Swift.

Where ev'ry line, as huge as seven,
If stretch'd in length, would reach to Heav'n:
Here all comparing wou'd be stand'ring,
The least is more than Alexandrine.

Against thy verse Time fees with pain,
He whets his envious scithe in vain;
For, tho' from thee he much may pare,
Yet much thou still wilt have to spare.

Thou hast alone the skill to feast
With Roman elegance of taste,
Who hast of rhymes as vast resources
As Pompey's caterer of courses.

Oh thou, of all the Nine inspir'd!
My languid soul, with teaching tir'd,
How is it raptur'd, when it thinks
On thy harmonious sett of clinks;
Each answ'ring each in various rhymes,
Like Echo to St. Patrick's chimes?

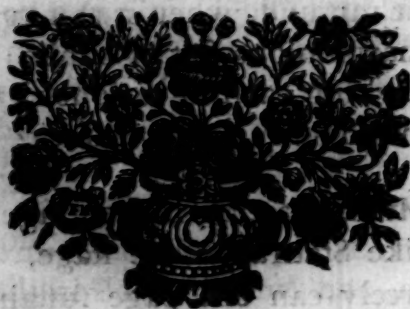
Thy Muse, majestic in her rage,
Moves like Statira on the stage,
And scarcely can one page sustain
The length of such a flowing train:
Her train, of variegated dye,
Shews like Thaumantia's in the sky;
Alike they glow, alike they please,
Alike imprest by Phœbus' rays.

Thy verse — (Ye Gods! I cannot bear it)
To what, to what shall I compare it?
'Tis like, what I have oft heard spoke on,
The famous statue of Laocoon.

'Tis like --- O yes, 'tis very like it,
 The long long string with which you fly kite.
 'Tis like what you, and one or two more,
 Roar to your Echo * in good-humour;
 And ev'ry couplet thou hast writ
 Concludes like Rattah-whittah-whit †.

* At Gallstown there is so famous an Echo, that, if you repeat two lines of Virgil out of a speaking-trumpet, you may hear the nymph return them to your ear with great propriety and clearness.

† These words allude to their amusements with the Echo, having no other signification but to express the sound of stones returned by the Echo, when beaten one against the other.



T O

Mr. THOMAS SHERIDAN,

Upon his VERSES written in Circles.

By DOCTOR SWIFT.

IT never was known that circular letters,
 By humble companions were sent to their betters :
 And, as to the subject, our judgment mehercle
 Is this, that you argue like fools in a circle.
 But now for your verses; we tell you, *imprimis*,
 The segment so large 'twixt your reason and rhyme is,
 That we walk all about, like a horse in a pound,
 And, before we find either, our noddles turn round.
 Sufficient it were, one would think, in your mad rant,
 To give us your measures of lines by a quadrant.
 But we took our dividers, and found your d—n'd metre,
 In each single verse, took up a diameter.
 But how, Mr. Sheridan, came you to venture
 George, Dan, Dean, and Nim to place in the center*?
 'Twill appear, to your cost, you are fairly trepann'd,
 For the cord of your circle is now in their hand;
 The cord, or the radius, it matters not whether,
 By which your jade Pegasus fixt in a tether,
 As his betters are us'd, shall be lash'd round the ring,
 Three fellows with whips, and the Dean holds the string.
 Will Hancock declares you are out of your compass,
 To encroach on his art by writing of bombas' ;

* There were four human figures in the center of the circular verses.

And

And has taken just now a firm resolution
 To answer your style without circumlocution.
 Lady Betty * presents you her service most humble,
 And is not afraid your Worship will grumble,
 That she makes of your verses a hoop for Miss Tam †,
 Which is all at present ; and so I remain —

* Daughter of the Earl of Drogheda, and married to George Rochford, Esq.

† Miss Tam, [a short name for Thomason] Lady Betty's daughter, then perhaps about a year old. She is now married to Gustavus Lambert, Esq; of Paynstown, in the county of Meath.



MEAN AND GREAT FIGURES,
made by several Persons.

*Of those who have made GREAT FIGURES in some particular Action,
or Circumstance of their Lives.*

ALEXANDER the Great, after his victory, [at the Streights of Mount Taurus] when he entered the tent where the Queen and the Princeesses of Persia fell at his feet.

Socrates, the whole last day of his life, and particularly from the time he took the poison to the moment he expired.

Cicero, when he was recalled from his banishment; the people, through every place he passed, meeting him with shouts of joy and congratulation, and all Rome coming out to receive him.

Regulus, when he went out of Rome attended by his friends to the gates, and returned to Carthage according to his word of honour, although he knew he must be put to a cruel death, for advising the Romans to pursue their war with that commonwealth.

Scipio the Elder, when he dismissed a beautiful captive lady, presented to him after a great victory, turning his head aside to preserve his own virtue.

The same Scipio, when he and Hannibal met before the battle, if the fact be true.

Cincinnatus, when the messengers, sent by the senate to make him Dictator, found him at the plough.

Epaminondas, when the Persian Ambassador came to his house, and found him in the midst of poverty.

The Earl of Strafford, the day that he made his own defence at his trial.

King Charles the Martyr, during his whole trial, and at his death.

The Black Prince, when he waited at supper on the King of France, whom he had conquered and taken prisoner the same day.

Virgil, when, at Rome, the whole audience rose up, out of veneration, as he entered the theatre.

Mahomet the Great, when he cut off his beloved mistress's head, on a stage erected for that purpose, to convince his soldiers, who taxed him for preferring his love to his glory.

Cromwell, when he quelled a mutiny in Hide-Park.

Harry the Great of France, when he entered Paris, and sat at cards the same night with some great ladies, who were his mortal enemies.

Robert Harley Earl of Oxford, at his trial.

Cato of Utica, when he provided for the safety of his friends, and had determined to die.

Sir Thomas More, during his imprisonment, and at his execution.

Marius, when the soldier, sent to kill him in the dungeon, was struck with so much awe and veneration, that his sword fell from his hand.

Douglas,

Douglas, when the ship he commanded was on fire, and he lay down to die in it because it should not be said, that one of his family ever quitted their post.

Sir Jerom Bows, * * * * *
* * * * *

Of those who have made a mean contemptible Figure, in some Action or Circumstance of their Lives.

Antony, at Actium, when he fled after Cleopatra.

Pompey, when he was killed on the sea-shore in Egypt.

Nero and Vitellius, when they were put to death.

Lepidus, when he was compelled to lay down his share of the triumvirate.

Cromwell, the day he refused the Kingship out of fear.

Perseus King of Macedon, when he was led in triumph.

Richard II. of England, after he was deposed.

The late King of Poland, when the King of Sweden forced him to give up his kingdom; and when he took it again upon the King of Sweden's defeat by the Muscovites.

King James II. of England, when the Prince of Orange sent to him at midnight to leave London.

King William III. of England, when he sent to beg the House of Commons to continue his Dutch guards, and was refused.

The late Queen Anne of England, when she sent Whitworth to Muscovy on an embassy of humiliation, for an insult committed here on that Prince's ambassador.

The Lord Chancellor Bacon, when he was convicted of bribery.

The late Duke of Marlborough, when he was forced, after his own disgrace, to carry his Duchess's gold key to the Queen.

The old Earl of Pembroke, when a Scotch Lord gave him a lash with a whip at New-market, in presence of all the nobility, and he bore it with patience.

King Charles II. of England, when he entered into the second Dutch war, and in many other actions during his whole reign.

Philip II. of Spain after the defeat of the Armada.

The Emperor Charles V. when he resigned his crown, and no body would believe his reasons.

King Charles I. of England, when, in gallantry to his Queen, he thought to surprize her with a present of a diamond buckle, which he pushed down her breast, and tore her flesh with the tongue; upon which she drew it out, and flung it on the ground.

Fairfax, the parliament general, at the time of King Charles's trial.

Julius Cæsar, when Antony offered to put a diadem on his head, and the people shouted for joy to see him decline it; which he never offered to do, until he saw their dislike in their countenances.

Coriolanus, when he withdrew his army from Rome at the intreaty of his mother.

Hannibal at Antiochus's court.

Beau Fielding, at fifty years old, when, in a quarrel upon the stage, he was run into his breast, which he opened and shewed to the ladies, that he might move their love and pity; but they all fell a laughing.

The Count de Buffy Rabutin, when he was recalled to Court after twenty years banishment into the country, and affected to make the same figure he did in his youth.

The

The Earl of Sunderland, when he turned Papist in the time of King James II. and underwent all the forms of a Heretic converted.

Pope Clement VII. when he was taken prisoner, at Rome, by the Emperor Charles V.'s forces.

Queen Mary of Scotland, when she suffered Bothwel to ravish her, and pleaded that as an excuse for marrying him.

King John of England, when he gave up his kingdom to the Pope, to be held as a fief from the see of Rome.



CONCERNING
 THAT UNIVERSAL HATRED,
 WHICH
 PREVAILS against the CLERGY.

MAY 24, MDCCXXXVI.

I HAVE been long considering and conjecturing, what could be the causes of that great disgust, of late, against the Clergy of both kingdoms, beyond what was ever known 'till that Monster and Tyrant, Henry VIII. who took away from them, against law, reason, and justice, at least two thirds of their legal possessions; and whose successors (except Queen Mary) went on with their rapine, till the accession of King James I. That detestable Tyrant Henry VIII. although he abolished the Pope's power in England, as universal bishop, yet what he did in that article, however just it were in itself, was the mere effect of his irregular appetite, to divorce himself from a wife he was weary of, for a younger and more beautiful woman, whom he afterwards beheaded. But, at the same time, he was an entire defender of all the Popish doctrines, even those which were the most absurd. And, while he put people to death for denying him to be head of the church, he burned every offender against the doctrines of the Roman Faith; and cut off the head of Sir Thomas More, a person of the greatest virtue this kingdom ever produced, for not directly owning him to be head of the church. Among all the princes who ever reigned in the world there was never so infernal a beast as Henry VIII. in every vice of the most odious kind, without any one appearance of virtue: But cruelty, lust, rapine,
 and

and atheism, were his peculiar talents. He rejected the power of the Pope for no other reason, than to give his full swing to commit sacrilege, in which no tyrant, since Christianity became national, did ever equal him by many degrees. The abbeyes, endowed with lands by the mistaken notion of well-disposed men, were indeed too numerous, and hurtful to the kingdom; and, therefore, the legislature might, after the Reformation, have justly applied them to some pious or public uses.

In a very few centuries after Christianity became national in most parts of Europe, although the Church of Rome had already introduced many corruptions in religion; yet the piety of early Christians, as well as new converts, was so great, and particularly of princes, as well as noblemen and other wealthy persons, that they built many religious houses, for those who were inclined to live in a recluse or solitary manner, endowing those monasteries with land. It is true, we read of monks some ages before, who dwelt in caves and cells, in desert places. But, when public edifices were erected and endowed, they began gradually to degenerate into idleness, ignorance, avarice, ambition, and luxury, after the usual fate of all human institutions. The popes, who had already aggrandized themselves, laid hold of the opportunity to subject all religious houses with their priors and abbots, to their peculiar authority; whereby these religious orders became of an interest directly different from the rest of mankind, and wholly at the pope's devotion. I need say no more on this article, so generally known and so frequently treated, or of the frequent endeavours of some other princes, as well as our own, to check the growth, and wealth, and power of the regulars.

In later times, this mistaken piety, of erecting and endowing abbeyes, began to decrease. And therefore, when some new-invented sect of monks and friars began to start up, not being able to procure grants of land, they got leave from the pope to appropriate the tithes and glebes of certain parishes, as contiguous or near as they could find, obliging themselves to send out some of their body to take care of the people's souls: And,

if some of those parishes were at too great a distance from the abbey, the monks appointed to attend them were paid, for the cure, either a small stipend of a determined sum, or sometimes a third part, or what are now called the vicarial tithes.

As to the church-lands, it hath been the opinion of many writers, that, in England, they amounted to a third part of the whole kingdom. And therefore, if that wicked Prince above-mentioned, when he had cast off the Pope's power, had introduced some reformation in religion, he could not have been blamed for taking away the abbey-lands by authority of parliament. But, when he continued the most cruel persecutor of all those who differed in the least article of the Popish religion, which was then the national and established faith, his seizing on those lands, and applying them to prophane uses, was absolute sacrilege, in the strongest sense of the word; having been bequeathed by princes and pious men to sacred uses.

In the reign of this Prince, the Church and Court of Rome had arrived to such a height of corruption, in doctrine and discipline, as gave great offence to many wise, learned, and pious men through most parts of Europe; and several countries agreed to make some reformation in religion. But, although a proper and just reformation were allowed to be necessary, even to preserve Christianity itself, yet the passions and vices of men had mingled themselves so far, as to pervert and confound all the good endeavours of those who intended well: And thus the reformation, in every country where it was attempted, was carried on in the most impious and scandalous manner that can possibly be conceived. To which unhappy proceedings we owe all the just reproaches that Roman Catholics have cast upon us ever since. For, when the northern kingdoms and states grew weary of the Pope's tyranny, and when their preachers, beginning with the scandalous abuses of indulgencies, and proceeding farther to examine several points of faith, had credit enough with their princes, who were in some fear lest such a change might affect the peace of their countries, because their bishops had great influence

influence on the people by their wealth and power; these politic teachers had a ready answer to this purpose. "Sir, your Majesty need not be in any pain or apprehension: Take away the lands, and sink the authority of the bishops: Bestow those lands on your courtiers, on your nobles, and your great officers in your army; and then you will be secure of the people." This advice was exactly followed. And, in the Protestant monarchies abroad, little more than the shadow of Episcopacy is left; but, in the republics, is wholly extinct.

In England, the Reformation was brought in after a somewhat different manner, but upon the same principle of robbing the church. However, Henry VIII. with great dexterity, discovered an invention to gratify his insatiable thirst for blood, on both religions,

* * * * *



A

L E T T E R

Giving an ACCOUNT of

A PESTILENT NEIGHBOUR.

S I R,

YOU must give me leave to complain of a *pestilent* fellow in my neighbourhood, who is always beating *mortar*, yet I cannot find he ever builds. In talking he useth such hard words, that I want a Druggier-man to interpret them. But all is not gold that *glisters*. *A pot* he carries to most houses where he visits. He makes his Prentice his *gally*-slave. I wish our lane were *purged* of him. Yet he pretends to be a *cordial* man. Every *spring* his shop is crouded with country-folks; who, by their *leaves*, in my opinion, help him to do a great deal of mischief. He is full of *scruples*; and so very litigious, that he *files bills* against all his acquaintance: And, though he be much troubled with the *simples*, yet I assure you he is a *Jesuitical dog*; as you may know by his *bark*. Of all poetry he loves the *dram-a-tick* best. I am, &c.

A

A
L E T T E R

T O T H E

E A R L of P E M B R O K E.

MY LORD,

1709, at a Conjecture.

IT is now a good while since I resolved to take some occasion of congratulating with your Lordship, and condoling with the public, upon your Lordship's leaving the Admiralty; and I thought I could never chuse a better time, than when I am in the country with my Lord Bishop of Clogher and his brother the Doctor*: For we pretend to a *triumvirate* of as humble servants and true admirers of your Lordship, as any you have in both islands. You may well call them a *triumvirate*; for, if you please to *try-um*, they will *vie* with the best, and are of the first *rate*, though they are not *men of war*, but men of church. To say the truth, it was a pity your Lordship should be confined to the *Fleet*, when you are not in debt. Though your Lordship is *cast away*, you are not *sunk*; nor ever will be, since nothing is out of your Lordship's *depth*. Dr. Ashe says, it is but justice that your Lordship, who is a man of *letters*, should be placed upon the *post-office*; and my Lord Bishop adds, that he hopes to see your Lordship roft from that *post* to be a *pillar* of state again; which he desired I would put in by way of *Postscript*.

I am,

MY LORD, &c.

* Doctor St. George Ashe.

A
L E T T E R

TO THE

E A R L of P E M B R O K E,

Pretended to be the DYING SPEECH of TOM ASHE, whose Brother, the Reverend DILLON ASHE, was nicknamed DILLY*.

[Given to Dr. MONSEY by Sir ANDREW FOUNTAIN, and communicated to the Editor of these Volumes by that ingenious, learned, and very obliging Gentleman.]

TOM ASHE died last night. It is conceived he was so puffed up by my Lord Lieutenant's *favour*, that it struck him into a *fever*. I here send you his dying speech, as it was exactly taken by a friend in short-hand. It is something long, and a little

* Thomas Ashe, Esq; descended from an ancient family of that name in Wiltshire, was a gentleman of fortune in Ireland. He was a facetious pleasant companion, but the most eternal unwearied punster that perhaps ever lived. He was thick and short in his person, being not above five feet high at the most, and had something very droll in his appearance. He died about the year 1719, and left his whole estate, of about a thousand pounds a year, to his intimate friend and kinsman Richard Ashe of Ashfield, Esq. There is a whimsical story, and a very true one, of Tom Ashe, which is well remembered to this day. It happened, that, while he was travelling on horseback, and at a considerable distance from any town, there burst from the clouds such a torrent of rain as wetted him through. He galloped forward; and, as soon as he came to an inn, he was met instantly by a drawer: "Here," said he to the fellow, stretching out one of his arms, "Take off my coat immediately." "No, Sir, I won't," said the drawer. "Pox confound you," said Ashe, "take off my coat this instant." "No, Sir, (replied the drawer) I dare not take off your coat; for it is felony to strip an ASH." Tom was delighted beyond measure, frequently told the story, and said he would have given fifty guineas to have been the author of that pun. This little tract of Dr. Swift's, intituled *The Dying Words of Tom Ashe*, was written several years before the decease of Tom, and was merely designed to exhibit the manner in which such an eternal punster might have expressed himself on his death-bed.

incoherent;

incoherent; but he was several hours delivering it, and with several intervals. His friends were about the bed, and he spoke to them thus:

MY FRIENDS,

IT is time for a man to look *grave* when he has one foot there.

I once had only a *punnick* fear of death, but, of late, I have *pundred* it more seriously. Every fit of *coffing* hath put me in mind of my *coffin*; though *dissolute* men seldomest think of *dissolution*. This is a very great alteration: I, that supported myself with good *wine*, must now be myself supported by a *small bier*. — A fortune-teller once looked on my hand, and said, This man is to be a great traveller: He will soon be at the *Diet of Worms*, and from thence go to *Ratis-bone*. But now I understand his double meaning. — I desire to be privately *buried*, for I think a public funeral looks like *Bury Fair*; and the *rites* of the dead too often prove *wrong* to the living. Methinks the word itself best expresses the number, neither *few nor all*. — A dying man should not think of *obsequies*, but *ob se quies*. — Little did I think you would so soon see poor *Tom* *flown* under a *tomb stone*. But, as the *mole* crumbles the *mold* about her, so a man of my small *mold*, before I am *old*, may *molder* away. — Sometimes I've *raw'd* that I should *revive*; but physicians tell me, that when once the great *artery* has drawn the *heart awry*, we shall find the *cor die all*, in spite of the highest *cordial*. — Brother, you are fond of *Daffy's* elixir; but, when Death comes, the world will see that in spite of *Daffy-down-Dilly* *. — Whatever doctors *may design* by their *medecines*, a man in a *dropsy drops* he not, in spite of *Goddard's drops*, though none are reckoned such *high drops*. — I find Death smells the blood of an Englishman: A *fee faintly* *fumbled out*, will be a weak defence against his *fee-fā-fum*. — *P. T.* are no letters in Death's *alphabet*; he has not *half a bit* of either: He moves his *sithe*, but will not be moved by all our *sighs*. — Every thing ought to put us in mind of death: Physicians affirm that

* A nickname of Tom Ashe's brother.

our very food breeds it in us, so that in our *dieting*, we may be said to *di eating*. — There is something ominous, not only in the names of diseases, as *di-arrhæa*, *di-abetes*, *di-sentery*, but even in the drugs designed to preserve our lives; as *di-acodium*, *di-apente*, *di-ascordium*. — I perceive Dr. *Howard* (and I feel *how hard*) lay thumb on my pulse, then pulls it back, as if he saw *Lethum* in my face. I see as bad in his; for sure there is no *physick* like a *sick-phiz*. He thinks I shall *decease* before the day *cease*; but, before I die, before the bell hath *toll'd*, and *Tom Tollman* is told that little *Tom*, though not *old*, has paid nature's toll, I do desire to give some advice to those that survive me. First, Let gamesters consider that death is *hazard* and *passage*, upon the turn of a *die*. Let lawyers consider it is a hard *case*. And let punners consider how hard it is to *die jesting*, when death is so hard in *digesting*.

As for my Lord-Lieutenant the Earl *Mungomerry*, I am sure he *be-wales* my misfortune; and it would move him to stand by, when the carpenter (while my friends grieve and make an *odd splutter*) nails up my coffin. I will make a short *affidavi-t*, that, if he makes my *epitaph* I will take it for a great honour; and it is a plentiful subject. His Excellency may say, that the art of punning is dead with Tom. Tom has taken all puns away with him: *Omne tulit pun-Tom*. — May his Excellency long live tenant to the Queen in Ireland. We never *Herberd* so good a governor before. Sure he *mungo-merry* home, that has made a kingdom so happy. — I hear my friends design to publish a collection of my puns. Now I do confess, I have let many a *pun go*, which did never *pungo*; therefore the world must read the bad as well as the good. Virgil has long foretold it: *Punica mala leges*. — I have had several forebodings that I should soon die: I have, of late, been often at committees, where I have fate *de die in diem*. — I conversed much with the *Usher* of the black rod: I saw his medals; and woe is me dull soul, not to consider they are but dead mens faces *flampt over* and *over* by the living, which will shortly be my condition.

Tell Sir Andrew *Fountain* I ran clear to the bottom, and wish he may be a late *a-river* where I am going. He used to *brook* my compliments. May his *sand* be long a *running*; not *quicksand*, like mine. Bid him avoid *poring* upon monuments and books, which is in reality but *runing* among *rocks* and *shelves*, to *stop* his *course*. May his *waters* never be troubled with *mud* or *gravel*, nor *stop*t by any *grinding stone*. May his friends be all true *trouts*, and his enemies laid flat as *flounders*. I look upon him as the most *fluent* of his *race*; therefore let him not *des-pond*. I foresee his black *rod* will *advance* to a *pike*, and destroy all our *ills*.

But, I am going; my *wind in lungs* is turning to a *winding sheet*. The thoughts of a *pall* begin to *a-pall* me. Life is but a *vapour*, car elle *va pour* la moindre cause. Farewell: I have lived ad amicorum *fastidium*, and now behold how *fast I di um*!

Here his breath failed him, and he expired. There are some false spellings here and there, but they must be pardoned in a dying man.



L E T T E R

TO THE

K I N G A T A R M S.

[From a reputed Esquire, one of the SUBSCRIBERS to the BANK.]

S I R,

November 18, 1721.

IN a late printed paper, containing some notes and queries upon that List of the Subscribers Names, which was published by order of the Commissioners for receiving of Subscriptions, I find some hints and innuendos that would seem to insinuate, as if I and some others were only *reputed* Esquires; and our case is referred to you, in your kingly capacity. I desire you will please to let me know the lowest price of a real Esquire's coat of arms: And, if we can agree, I will give my bond to pay you out of the first interest I receive for my subscription; because things are a little low with me at present, by throwing my whole fortune into the Bank, having subscribed for five hundred pounds sterling.

I hope you will not question my pretensions to this title, when I let you know that my godfather was a justice of peace, and I myself have been often a keeper of it. My father was a leader and commander of horse, in which post he rode before the greatest lords of the land; and, in long marches, he alone presided over the baggage, advancing directly before it. My mother kept open house in Dublin, where several hundreds were supported with meat and drink, bought at her own charge, or with her personal credit, until some envious brewers and butchers forced her to retire.

As

As to myself, I have been, for several years, a foot-officer; and it was my charge to guard the carriages, behind which I was commanded to stick close, that they might not be attacked in the rear. I have had the honour to be a favourite of several fine ladies; who, each of them at different times, gave me such coloured knots and public marks of distinction, that every one knew which of them it was to whom I paid my address. They would not go into their coach without me, nor willingly drink unless I gave them the glass with my my own hand. They allowed me to call them my Mistresses, and owned that title publicly. I have been told, that the true ancient employment of a Squire was to carry a Knight's shield, painted with his colours and coat of arms. This is what I have witnesses to produce that I have often done; not indeed in a shield, like my predecessors, but that which is full as good, I have carried the colours of a Knight upon my coat. I have likewise borne the King's Arms in my hand, as a mark of authority; and hung them painted before my dwelling-house, as a mark of my calling: So that I may truly say, his Majesty's Arms have been my supporters. I have been a strict and constant follower of men of quality, I have diligently pursued the steps of several Squires, and am able to behave myself as well as the best of them, whenever there shall be occasion.

I desire it may be no disadvantage to me, that, by the new act of parliament going to pass for preserving the game, I am not yet qualified to keep a greyhound. If this should be the test of Squirehood, it will go hard with a great number of my fraternity, as well as myself, who must all be unsquired, because a greyhound will not be allowed to keep us company; and it is well known I have been a companion to his betters. What has a greyhound to do with a Squireship? Might not I be a real Squire, although there was no such thing as a greyhound in the world? Pray tell me, Sir, are greyhounds to be from henceforth the supporters of every Squire's coat of arms? Although I cannot keep a greyhound, may not a greyhound help to keep

VOL. VIII. (L1) me?

me? May not I have an order from the Governors of the Bank to keep a greyhound, with a *non obstante* to the act of parliament, as well as they have created a Bank against the votes of the two Houses? But, however, this difficulty will soon be overcome. I am promised 125 *l.* a year for subscribing 500 *l.*; and, of this 500 *l.* I am to pay in only 25 *l.* ready money: The governors will trust me for the rest, and pay themselves out of the interest by 25 *l. per cent.* So that I intend to receive only 40 *l.* a year, to qualify me for keeping my family and a greyhound, and let the remaining 85 *l.* go on 'till it makes 500 *l.* then 1000 *l.* then 10,000 *l.* then 100,000 *l.* then a million, and so forwards. This, I think, is much better (betwixt you and me) than keeping fairs, and buying and selling bullocks; by which I find, from experience, that little is to be gotten, in these hard times. I am,

S I R,

Your friend, and

Servant to command,

A. B. ESQUIRE.

Postscript. I hope you will favourably represent my case to the publisher of the Paper above-mentioned.

Direct your letter for *A. B. Esquire*, at — in —; and, pray, get some parliament-man to frank it, for it will cost a groat postage to this place.

A LET-

L E T T E R

T O

Mrs. S U S A N N A N E V I L L E *.

M A D A M,

June 24, 1732.

I WILL not trouble you with any grave *tophicks*, lest I should *discurmode* you; but rather write in a *farmiliar* and *jocosious* way.

You must know then, I was the other night at Mrs. Tattle's, and Mrs. Rattle came in to drink some *jocklit* with us, upon which they fell into a *nargiment* about the best *musicioners* in town: At last, Rattle told Tattle, that she did not know the *disfrence* between a song and a *tympany*. They were going to *defer* the matter to me; but I said that when people disputed, it was my way always to stand *muter*. You would have thought they were both *intosticated* with liquor, if you had seen them so full of outrageousness. However Mrs. Tattle, as being a very *timbersome* woman, yielded to Rattle, and there was an end of the *disputement*. — I wonder you do not honour me sometimes with your company. If I myself be no *introducement*, my garden, which has a fine *ruval* look, ought to be one. My Tomy would be glad to see you before he goes for England, and so would I; for I am resolved to take the *tower* of London before I return. We intend to go to Norfolk or Suffolk, to see a clergyman, a near cousin of ours. They say that he is an *admiral* good man, and very *horspital* in his own house. I am *determ'd*, when this *vege* is over, never to set my foot in a stage-coach again, for the jolting of it has put my blood into such a *firmament*, that I have been in an *ego* ever since, and have lost my *nappitite* to such a degree that I have not eaten

* This letter is fictitious, and was written by Dr. Sheridan.

a *manſion* of bread, put all together, theſe fix weeks paſt. They allow me to eat nothing at night but *blanchius manſhius*, which has made a perfect *notomy* of me; and my ſpirits are ſo *extorted*, that I am in a perfect *liturgy*; for which I am reſolved to take ſome *rubrick*, although the doctors adviſe me to drink *burgomy*. And what do you think? when I went to my cellar for a flask, I found that my ſervants had *imbelliſhed* it all; for which I am reſolved to give them ſome *hippokockeny* to bring it up again. — I fear that I have been too *turbulent* in this long and tedious *crawl*; which I hope you will excuſe from

Your very humble ſervant,

MARY HOWE.



BARBAROUS DENOMINATIONS IN IRELAND.

SIR,

I HAVE been lately looking over the advertisements in some of your Dublin news-papers, which are sent me to the country, and was much entertained with a large list of denominations of lands, to be sold or let. I am confident they must be genuine; for it is impossible that either chance, or modern invention, could sort the alphabet in such a manner, as to make those abominable sounds, whether first invented to invoke, or fright away the Devil, I must leave among the curious.

If I could wonder at any thing barbarous, ridiculous, or absurd among us, this should be one of the first. I have often lamented that Agricola, the Father-in-law of Tacitus, was not prevailed on by that petty King from Ireland, who followed his camp, to come over and civilize us with a conquest, as his countrymen did Britain, where several Roman appellations remain to this day; and so would the rest have done, if that inundation of Angles, Saxons, and other northern people, had not changed them so much for the worse, although in no comparison with ours. In one of the advertisements just mentioned, I encountered near a hundred words together, which I defy any creature in human shape, except an Irishman of the savage kind, to pronounce; neither would I undertake such a task, to be owner of the lands, unless I had liberty to humanize the syllables twenty miles round. The Legislature may think what they please, and that they are above copying the Romans in all their conquests of barbarous nations; but I am deceived, if any thing hath more contributed to prevent the Irish from being tamed, than this encouragement

couragement of their language, which might easily be abolished, and become a dead one in half an age, with little expence, and less trouble.

How is it possible that a gentleman, who lives in those parts, where the Town-lands (as they call them) of his estate produce such odious sounds from the mouth, the throat, and the nose, can be able to repeat the words, without dislocating every muscle that is used in speaking, and without applying the same tone to all other words, in every language he understands? As it is plainly to be observed, not only in those people, of the better sort, who live in Galloway and the Western parts, but in most counties of Ireland.

It is true, that, in the city-part of London, the trading people have an affected manner of pronouncing; and so, in my time, had many ladies and coxcombs at Court. It is likewise true, that there is an odd provincial cant in most counties of England, sometimes not very pleasing to the ear: And the Scotch cadence, as well as expression, are offensive enough. But none of these defects derive contempt to the speaker; whereas, what we call the Irish Brogue is no sooner discovered, than it makes the deliverer, in the last degree, ridiculous and despised; and, from such a mouth, an Englishman expects nothing but bulls, blunders, and follies. Neither does it avail whether the censure be reasonable or not, since the fact is always so. And, what is yet worse, it is too well known that the bad consequence of this opinion affects those among us who are not the least liable to such reproaches, further than the misfortune of being born in Ireland, although of English parents, and whose education hath been chiefly in that kingdom.

I have heard many gentlemen, among us, talk much of the great convenience to those who live in the country, that they should speak Irish. It may possibly be so: But, I think, they should be such who never intend to visit England, upon pain of being ridiculous. For I do not remember to have heard of any one man that spoke Irish, who had not the accent upon his tongue, easily discernible to any English ear.

But

But I have wandered a little from my subject, which was only to propose a wish, that these execrable denominations were a little better suited to an English mouth, if it were only for the sake of the English lawyers; who, in trials upon appeals to the House of Lords, find so much difficulty in repeating the names, that, if the plaintiff or defendant were by, they would never be able to discover which were their own lands. But, beside this, I would desire, not only that the appellations of what they call Town-lands were changed, but likewise of larger districts, and several towns, and some counties; and, particularly, the seats of country-gentlemen, leaving an *alias* to solve all difficulties in point of law. But I would by no means trust these alterations to the owners themselves; who, as they are generally no great clerks, so they seem to have no large vocabulary about them, nor to be well skilled in prosody. The utmost extent of their genius lies in naming their country-habitation by a hill, a mount, a brook, a burrough, a castle, a bawn, a ford, and the like ingenious conceits. Yet these are exceeded by others, whereof some have continued anagrammatical appellations, from half their own and their wives names joined together, others only from the lady. As, for instance, a person, whose wife's name was Elizabeth, calls his seat by the name of *Bess-borow*. There is likewise a famous town, where the worst iron in the kingdom is made, and it is called *Swandlingbar*. The original of which name I shall explain, lest the antiquaries of future ages might be at a loss to derive it. It was a most witty conceit of four gentlemen, who ruined themselves with this iron-project. *Sw.* stands for *Swift*, *And.* for *Sanders*, *Ling.* for *Darling*, and *Bar.* for *Barry*. Methinks I see the four loggerheads sitting in consult, like Smectimnius, each gravely contributing a part of his own name to make up one for their place in the iron-work; and could wish they had been hanged, as well as undone, for their wit. But I was most pleased with the denomination of a town-land, which I lately saw in an advertisement of Pue's Paper: "This is to give notice, that the lands of Douras, *alias* WHIG-borow, &c." Now this zealous proprietor, having a mind to record his principles in religion

religion or loyalty, to future ages within five miles round him, for want of other merit, thought fit to make use of this expedient; wherein he seems to mistake his account: For this distinguishing term, *Whig*, had a most infamous original, denoting a man who favoured the Fanatic sect, and an enemy to kings, and so continued 'till the idea was a little softened, some years after the Revolution, and during a part of her late Majesty's reign. After which it was in disgrace until the Queen's death: Since which time it hath, indeed, flourished with a witness: But how long it will continue so, in our variable scene, or what kind of mortal it may describe, is a question which this courtly landlord is not able to answer. And therefore, he should have set a date on the title of his burrow, to let us know what kind of creature a Whig was in that year of our LORD. — I would readily assist nomenclators of this costly imagination; and therefore I propose, to others of the same size in thinking, that, when they are at a loss about christening a country-seat, instead of straining their invention, they would call it *Booby-burrow*, *Fool brook*, *Puppy-ford*, *Coxcomb-hall*, *Mount-loggerhead*, *Dunce-hill*; which are innocent appellations, proper to express the talents of the owners. But I cannot reconcile myself to the prudence of this Lord of WHIG-borow, because I have not yet heard, among the Presbyterian squires, how much soever their persons and principles are in vogue, that any of them have distinguished their country-abode by the name of *Mount-regicide*, *Covenant-hall*, *Fanatic-hill*, *Roundhead-bawn*, *Canting-brook*, or *Mount-rebel*, and the like; because there may, possibly, come a time when those kind of sounds may not be so grateful to the ears of the kingdom. For I do not conceive it would be a mark of discretion, upon supposing a gentleman, in allusion to his name, or the merit of his ancestors, to call his house *Tyburn-hall*.

But the scheme I would propose, for changing the denominations of land into legible and audible syllables, is by employing some gentlemen in the University; who, by the knowledge of the Latin-tongue, and their judgment in sounds, might imitate the Roman way, by translating those hideous words into their
English

English meanings, and altering the termination, where a bare translation will not form a good cadence to the ear, or be easily delivered from the mouth. And, when both these means happen to fail, then to name the parcels of land from the nature of the soil, or some peculiar circumstance belonging to it; as, in England, Farn-ham, Oat-lands, Black-heath, Corn-bury, Rye-gate, Ash-burnham, Barn-elms, Cole-ortum, Sand-wich, and many others.

I am likewise apt to quarrel with some titles of Lords among us, that have a very ungracious sound, which are apt to communicate mean ideas to those who have not the honour to be acquainted with their persons, or their virtues, of whom I have the misfortune to be one. But I cannot pardon those gentlemen, who have gotten titles since the judicature of the peers among us hath been taken away, to which they all submitted with a resignation that became good Christians, as undoubtedly they are. However, since that time, I look upon a graceful harmonious title to be, at least, forty *per cent.* in the value intrinsic of an Irish peerage: And, since it is as cheap as the worst, for any Irish law hitherto enacted in England to the contrary, I would advise the next sett, before they pass their patents, to call a consultation of scholars, and musical gentlemen, to adjust this most important and essential circumstance. The Scotch noblemen, though born almost under the North Pole, have much more tuneable appellations, except some very few, which, I suppose, were given them by the Irish, along with their language, at the time when that kingdom was conquered, and planted from hence; and, to this day, retain the denominations of places, and surnames of families, as all historians agree.

I should likewise not be sorry, if the names of some bishops sees were so much obliged to the alphabet, that, upon pronouncing them, we might contract some veneration for the order and persons of those reverend peers, which the gross ideas sometimes joined to their titles, is very unjustly apt to diminish.

TO
FRANCIS GRANT, Esq;

MERCHANT IN LONDON.

[Francis Grant Esq; of London, Merchant, younger son of Sir Francis Grant of Cullen, Baronet, having an high opinion of the herring and other fisheries in the British seas, writ and published a pamphlet, in the year 1733, on that subject; principally with a view to excite the encouragement of the public, to such of the mercantile people as might engage in a project so extremely beneficial. The pamphlet was much esteemed; but the ministry of England, in those days, fearing to offend the Dutch, were not inclined to favour it. Whereupon, Mr. Grant writ a letter to the Reverend Doctor Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's Dublin, who was then very eminent in Ireland, to try if the patriot party there would espouse the design, and reap benefit to their country from what was thus rejected in England: To which letter the Dean writ the following Answer, which greatly shews the man, as well as the general opinion he had of those times.]

SIR,

Dublin, March 23, 1733-4.

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for your letter, and Discourse upon the Fishery: You discover, in both, a true love of your country, and (excepting your civilities to me) a very good judgment, good wishes to this ruined kingdom, and a perfect knowledge in the subject you treat. But you are more temperate than I, and consequently much wiser: For corruptions are apt to make me impatient, and give offence, which you prudently avoid.

Ever since I began to think, I was enraged at the folly of England, in suffering the Dutch to have almost the whole advantage of our fishery, just under our noses.

The last Lord Wemys told me, he was governor of a castle in Scotland near which the Dutch used to fish: He sent to them, in a civil manner, to desire they would send him some fish, which they brutishly refused; whereupon he ordered three or four cannon to be discharged from the castle, (for their boats were in reach of the shot;) and, immediately, they sent him more than he wanted.

The

The Dutch are like a knot of sharpers among a parcel of honest gentlemen, who think they understand play, and are bubbled of their money. I love them for the love they have to their country; which, however, is no virtue in them, because it is their private interest, which is directly contrary in England. In the Queen's time, I did often press the Lord-Treasurer Oxford, and others of the ministry, upon this very subject; but the answer was, "We must not offend the Dutch;" who, at that very time, were opposing us in all our steps towards a peace. I laughed to see the zeal that ministry had about the fishing at Newfoundland (I think), while no care was taken against the Dutch fishing just at our doors.

As to my native country, I happened indeed, by a perfect accident, to be born here, my mother being left here from returning to her house at Leicester, and I was a year old before I was sent to England: And thus I am a Teague, or an Irishman, or what people please, although the best part of my life was in England.

What I did for this country was from perfect hatred of tyranny and oppression, for which I had a proclamation against me of 300*l.* which my old friend my Lord Carteret was forced to consent to, the very first or second night of his arrival hither. The crime was that of writing against a project of one Wood, an Ironmonger, to coin 100,000*l.* in halfpence, not worth a sixth part of the money, which was laid before the people in so plain a manner, that they all refused it; and so the nation was preserved from immediate ruin.

I have done some smaller services to this kingdom, but I can do no more. I have too many years upon me, and have too much sickness. I am out of favour at Court, where I was well received, during two summers, six and seven years ago. The governing people here do not love me. For as corrupt as England is, it is an habitation of saints in comparison of Ireland. We are all fl--s, and kn--s, and fools; and all, but bishops and people in employments, beggars. The cash of Ireland does not amount

(M m 2)

to

to 200,000 *l.*: The few honest men among us are dead-hearted, poor, and out of favour and power.

I talked to two or three gentlemen of this House of Commons, now sitting here; and, mentioning your Scheme, shewed how very advantageous it would be to Ireland. They agreed with me; but said, that if such a thing were proposed, the members would all go out, as at a thing they had no concern in.

I believe the people of Lapland, or the Hottentots, are not so miserable a people as we; for oppression, supported by power, will infallibly introduce slavish principles. I am afraid that, even in England, your proposal will come to nothing. There is not virtue enough left among mankind. If your scheme should pass into an act, it will become a job: Your sanguine temper will cool: R—s will be the only gainers. Party and faction will intermingle, and defeat the most essential parts of the whole design. Standing armies, in times of peace, projects of excise, and bribing at elections, are all you are like to be employed in; not forgetting septennial parliaments, directly against the old Whig-principles, which always have been mine.

A gentleman of this kingdom, about three years ago, joined with some others in a fishery here, in the northern parts: They advanced 200 *l.* by way of trial: They got men from Orkney to cure their fish, who understood it well. But the vulgar folks of Ireland are so lazy and so knavish, that it turned to no account, nor would any body join with them: And so the matter fell, and they lost two thirds of their money. Oppressed beggars are always knaves; and, I believe, there hardly are any other among us. They had rather gain a shilling by knavery, than five pounds by honest dealing. They lost 30,000 *l.* a-year for ever, in the time of the plague at Marseilles, when the Spaniards would have bought all their linen from Ireland: But the merchants and the weavers sent over such abominable linen, that it was all returned back, or sold for a fourth part of the value. This is our condition, which you may please to

3

pity,

pity, but never can mend. I wish you good success with all my heart. I have always loved good projects, but have always found them to miscarry. I am, Sir, with true esteem for your good intentions,

Your most obedient servant.

P. S. I would subscribe my name, if I had not a very bad one; so I leave you to guess it. If I can be of any service to you in this kingdom, I shall be glad you will employ me.



LATIN LETTER,

IN THE

GRATTANIAN STYLE;

Written by Dr. SHERIDAN,

LATINITAS GRATTANIANA.

DOMINE,

TU cogitabas quod egi duram rem in intrando iudicium supra vinculum tuum, et quatuor claudendo mortgagiam: non potui adjuvare id, quoniam eram valde durum positus ei pro nummum. Ego desidero te tenere linguam, et ne tergum morde me aliquid longior, nam si facis, supra meam animam te tundam deorsum primum tempus quod occurro te. Est pulchra res quod homo non potest rogare pro suo quin vocas illum nomina, et das illi pessimum verbum in ore tuo. Semel magis jubeo te tenere linguam, vel potes esse certus quod non frangam juramentum. Sum nunciatus quod uxor tuus simile sapienti capit magnas libertates cum me; profecto illa habuit melior esse quietus, vel nunciabo illi suum ac cito ac video illam. Nosco valde bene tu potes gignere pecuniam a centum manibus, si places, igitur fac festinationem, nam diabolus cape me si famulabor unus dies plus. Sic do te pulchram cautionem aspicere ad teipsum, nam habebo te in carcere ante mensis it circa, si non sum solvitus. Prope est indusium, sed propior est cutis, et charitas incipit apud domum. Habeo novem infantes et uxor; non possum tenere illos supra nihil, et ora habebunt cibum. Sic
necessitas

necessitas habet nullum lex. Omnes hi res sunt satis ostendere
te magnus opus in quo sum; ideo dico te in brevi habebō
pecuniam quodlibet quadrantem. Sum

Tuus humilis famulus,

BLUNDERORIUS PETTIFOGGARIUS.

Sine me habere lineam vel duo, ut sciam quid dependeam
supra.



LETTER

TO
DOCTOR SHERIDAN.

ANGLO-LATIN.

[As the following is the only piece of the kind that perhaps ever was written; we doubt not but the Curious and Polite will find some agreeable entertainment in the perusal of it.]

Ill us try figh may Do my nay,

IN vain I vye am new pear am descry bend a late in night
a tea. Dice ease force an spay row hock essay a liquid no
vye ake way a claw dabble is. Tame pufs e'er it pose stack
come me a fye low so fye a law dabb bitter a tea. East nay
ill lay a my cuz vest err it a e'er you dye t'us you teague o
some; add some mum all tear sock rates, ought a wrist I days?
Can toe carr-men I am become, here o I come, home e'er I
come. Egg o a mow tea; said ease nay S^r does come add tea
meet toe litter as tun on lay jays, neck aw dire veal is? Aw
dye vye tea few is sea a man tame you nigh us pew ell lay
leap I dice I may, for mow say, said paw pear I may, said
dive ease may lye us place sea bitt patt rye vest row.

Codd add raise belly eat pace is at tin net, my high my nigh
may like wet, neck raise awe like as no vye. Sat is east aw
dye ray a ball I is. Wrecks bay nay valet, come rage in a eat
inn fan tye bufs, eat aw lice is, pray sip you ay ake witty ill
us try: Said hock egg o nigh hill cur o, come paw lull' um
may

may a matt; at egg o ill loss mine us. Feel licks fort tea
may ah: Sick dice it whore as I us: In tea jear vye tea feal
err risque pure us: I dame vye day, eat fet her a. Dumb spy
row, spay row.

Some hew my lime us do mine as I own is vest ray.

Vye like us.

P. S. Ray fea pye vest ram ape pist lamb, quay east a duck
inn many bufs



A N

E P I S T L E,

I N

H A R D L A T I N,

F R O M

Doctor S W I F T to Doctor S H E R I D A N.

DOMINE,

AUDIVI * quòd abra fæminæ nobilis et mihi amicæ offendendo pedem ad paxillum vel ridicam, vel, ut alii dicunt, rutabulum; valdè læsit uropygium, et est miserè catax. Novi ejus patrem, capitularem, et sublestum, et carnarium, qui furatus erat hornotinum per ostium clathratum, et ut meruit, a vulgo occillatus. Pauper enim erat, gaunaco et decotibus vestitus;

* As all the words in this and the following Letter, which cause any difficulty, are extremely uncommon, we presume it will not be amiss to print a Glossary, in order to save our Readers the plague and trouble of turning over a Dictionary:

Abra, a waiting-woman: *Quod sit delicata, non vulgaris Ancilla.*

Paxillus, a stake, pale, or post.

Ridica, the prop of a vine, &c.

Rutabulum, a maukin, a cole-rake to make clean an oven, an oven-swoop, a skealing-stick.

Uropygium, the narrowest and lowest part of the chine, the rum

Catax, lame, hip-halt.

Capitularis, a tax-gatherer, an exciseman.

Sublestus, weak, feeble; of no esteem or account.

Carnarius, a butcher.

Hornotinus, a fawn or hind-calf.

Clathratus, latticed, barred, grated.

Occillo, to buffet, or beat and maul.

Gaunacum, a thick shag rug to cover one with, an Irish mantle.

Decotes, *Togæ detritæ*, garments worn bare.

Pernio,

tus; pernionibus claudicans laboravit. Frequentavit fui similes, propolas nempe, arilatores, cociones, imò salifubfulos et labdas, omnes, ut meruerant tribonibus vestitos.

Pridiè tabellio ad me attulit epistolam de flata et catta in portu obrutis, unde miser perdidit cadiscum strobilorum plerum, duo haustra, calpar, decem scutellas, calignam, et quod maximè dolet, crocotulam nuper uxori emptam, sed spero me redhostiturum fore.

Amicus noster catulaster lepidissimus hominum miserè vivit in domuncula vescarum plena, proficiebus pascitur, operando strigans

Pernio, a kibe on the heel.

Propola, a huckster, or retailer, a forestaller, a regrater, &c.

Arilator, a pedlar.

Cocio, a higler.

Salifubfulus, a morriscancer, any one who dances and capers to musick.

Labda, any sort of vile filthy rascal.

Tribon, a threadbare cloak.

Tabellio, a carrier of letters.

Stlata, a float, a hoy, a flat boat.

Catta, *nomen navis*.

Cadiscus, a rundlet, a kilderkin, or little barrel.

Strobilus, a pine-apple.

Plerus, idem quod *plenus*.

Haustrum, a bucket; also a kind of pot, or jug, to draw drink with.

Calpar, an earthen vessel, or tun.

Scutella, any kind of dish or platter.

Caligna, as this word seems to be derived from *Καλον*, *lignum*, perhaps it signifies a large wooden bowl.

Crocotula, a little saffron coloured, or yellow garment.

Redhostio, to requite a curtesy, to return like for like: But here it may signify, To make a present of just such another garment.

Catulaster, a little whelp.

Vesca, a cobweb.

Proficies, perhaps it may signify a supply, or subsidy, given as a present.

Strigo, to breathe, or rest in work, to stop or stand still, as oxen sometimes do at plow in the middle of a furrow.

gans et conquiniscens, et turundis pullos pascit in tuguriolo
ferphorum pleno.

Hesternæ nocte cecidit terribilissima labes mantiffa, quæ indices
omnes implevit.

Sum humilissimus, &c.

Conquinisco, to duck the head, to bow or bend the body, to stoop.

Turunda, a pellet of bread, dough, or paste, wherewith capons are crammed.

Serphus, a kind of vermine like an ant.

Labes, a great fall, or path of rain or hail, &c.

Mantiffa, qu. manutenfa, eo quod manu porrigitur. Over-measure, advantage, the vantage
or over-weight. The Welch call it *Ispine*.

Inlex, *indices canales*, gutters in streets.



A N

A N S W E R

TO THE

EPISTLE IN HARD LATIN,

By DOCTOR SHERIDAN.

Doctissime Decane,

FORBUM tabellarum methodium vestrarum lagonopono me
 fermè affectit, quocirca hostire vestræ reverentiæ gerras
 aggredior. Quid mea refert si uropygium abræ ignobilis fit
 læsum, ejusmodi etenim mulieres plerumque sunt exbuæ, atque
 rimarum non minùs plenæ quàm excernicula, profectò non
 mihi injucundum foret si tu esses illi iatraliptes. Si vero curam
 fuscipias, non abs re fuerit illius crotaphitas ambabus calidè
 manibus fricare ne spiritus deficient, atque inde porrò ad podicem
 descendens, postquam complutum aquâ vitæ feceris, applicueris
 emplastrum

Forbus, Calidus, *Serv.* Formus a *Σερα*: *Æol.* *Φερα*. aliter a *forbo*, vel *forvo*; i. e. *fer-
 veo*, hot, warm.

Tabella, a letter, or epistle.

Methodium, a trick, a cheat, a cunning fetch.

Lagonoponos, a fretting to the guts.

Hostio, to recompense, to return like for like.

Gerræ, hurdles, or twigs filled up with earth, for fortifying a place; gabions, &c.

Exbuæ, tippling-gossips.

Excerniculum, a sieve.

Iatraliptes, a physician or surgeon that cures by ointments and frictions.

Crotaphitæ, the two muscles that are in the temples.

Complutus, wetted all over.

Calligimus

emplastrum calligoni, mattiacarum tritarum, daucorum, suffi-
tietieridis, gethyonum. Caveto interim ne tibi manus imbulbi-
taverit, aut imbubinaverit, partiliter quandò prædicti spiritus
urticam senferit; sed ne forsan obliviscaris te moneo, ut pars
crepidinis dorfi interior sit fissiculanda. Memini illius patrem
ex infimâ plebis ruderatione gingrinatorem, lucuntes olim ven-
didit, admodum fuit procellulus, eximius autem pilicrepus; sed
falaconem atque dosonem nimium se ostendendo, minuit hanc
gloriam quam exercitiis meruit. Si vis ut nostra denuò amicitia
inalefcat,

Calligonum, way-grafs, knot-grafs.

Mattiacæ, [pilæ dict. quòd præstantissimæ apud Mattiacum Germaniæ oppidum conficerentur.]

Soap-balls, wash-balls.

Tritus, common, much used.

Daucus, a kind of wild carrot.

Suffitietieridis. As there is no such word as this to be found in the common Dictionaries, it is
imagined to have been coined by Doctor Sheridan, when he was writing this Letter,
in order to amuse and puzzle his Correspondent: Or, if it be not too wild a conjecture, let
us suppose the word to be thus divided, *Suffiti* et *Eridis*; and then it may refer to the rest of
the ingredients of the plaister, and especially to the severe poignancy of the onions, in the
next and last article: And then, perhaps, the latter part of the sentence may be thus
paraphrastically interpreted: "You might apply to the part affected a plaister of knot-grafs,
" common wash ball, wild carrot, and among the rest of the ingredients," [for *Συγγίλος*
signifies a Companion] "by way of giving the whole a poignancy," [for *Εγὼς* signifies
a contention for victory] "you should take care that a mixture of onion predominate
" in the composition." The word *Urtica*, in the following period, seems to favour this
conjecture.

Gethyon, a kind of onions, hollow leeks.

Imbulbito, to defile one's self with any thing detestable. Vide Dictionary.

Imbubino, to defile with any thing abominable. Vide Dict.

Partiliter, particularly, with exactness or subtilty.

Urtica, a nettle, or any tickling pain like the sting of a nettle.

Crepido, *dorfi crepido*, the rump.

Fissiculandis, to be cleft, or cut open.

Rudratio, rubbish.

Gingrinator, a piper or minstrel.

Lucunis, a kind of meat; or rather some baked thing; a spice-cake.

Pilicrepus, a ball-player.

Salacon, a great boaster, who, being extremely poor, would be thought very rich.

Doso, a great promiser, but who does nothing.

Inalefco,

inalescat, te mecum cràs prandere prorito, habebis sympinium vel applam vini non vulgaris absque flocibus, cum cervisia æquè pellucidum ac glæsum. Sæpissimè futabas in ædibus meis nequè unquam inanias, de quibus mentionem in epistola vestrà fecisti, in ulla nostrarum conspexisti camerarum. Hesterno die nimium ambulando flegmine laboro, quod ex stomachi ventositate evenisse comperio, ideoque magnam git quantitatem, ut postico emurmuret, deglutire statuo.

Sum tibi humillimus, &c.

Manaco Maii 15^o 1732.

Inalesco, ut *Coalesco*, to grow together, to stick one to another.

Prorito, to provoke, stir up, egg on.

Sympinium, a kind of wooden vessel for wine, used of old in their holy rites and divine services; a stone-jug, or pitcher; a drinking-cup.

Appla, ab *ad* et *pleo*, ut sit vas quod subinde impletur et depletur, — a kind of vessel used at table.

Floes, pl. the dregs or lees of wine.

Cervisia, vel *Cerevisia*, *Cerealis*, liquor, ale, beer, &c.

Futo, to blame or reprove.

Glæsum, a kind of amber.

Inaniæ, emptinesses, cobwebs.

Flegmen, an inflammation or swelling in the legs, tired by over-much walking.

Git, vel *Gith*, indecl. a kind of cockle, a small seed.

Posticum, a back-door.

Manacus, a month.

End of VOLUME VIII.

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E S S A Y



UPON THE

LIFE, WRITINGS, AND CHARACTER

OF

Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,

INTERSPERSED WITH

Some OCCASIONAL ANIMADVERSIONS upon the *Remarks* of a late critical
Author, and upon the *Observations* of an Anonymous Writer on those *Remarks*.

*Est etiam in magnis Heliconis montibus arbor,
Floris odore hominem tetro consueta necare.*

LUCRET. Lib. vi.

By DEANE SWIFT, ESQ;
of GOODRICH, in HEREFORDSHIRE.

To which is added

A SCETCH of DR. SWIFT'S LIFE,

Written by the Doctor himself.

